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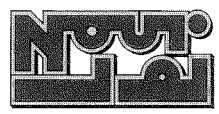

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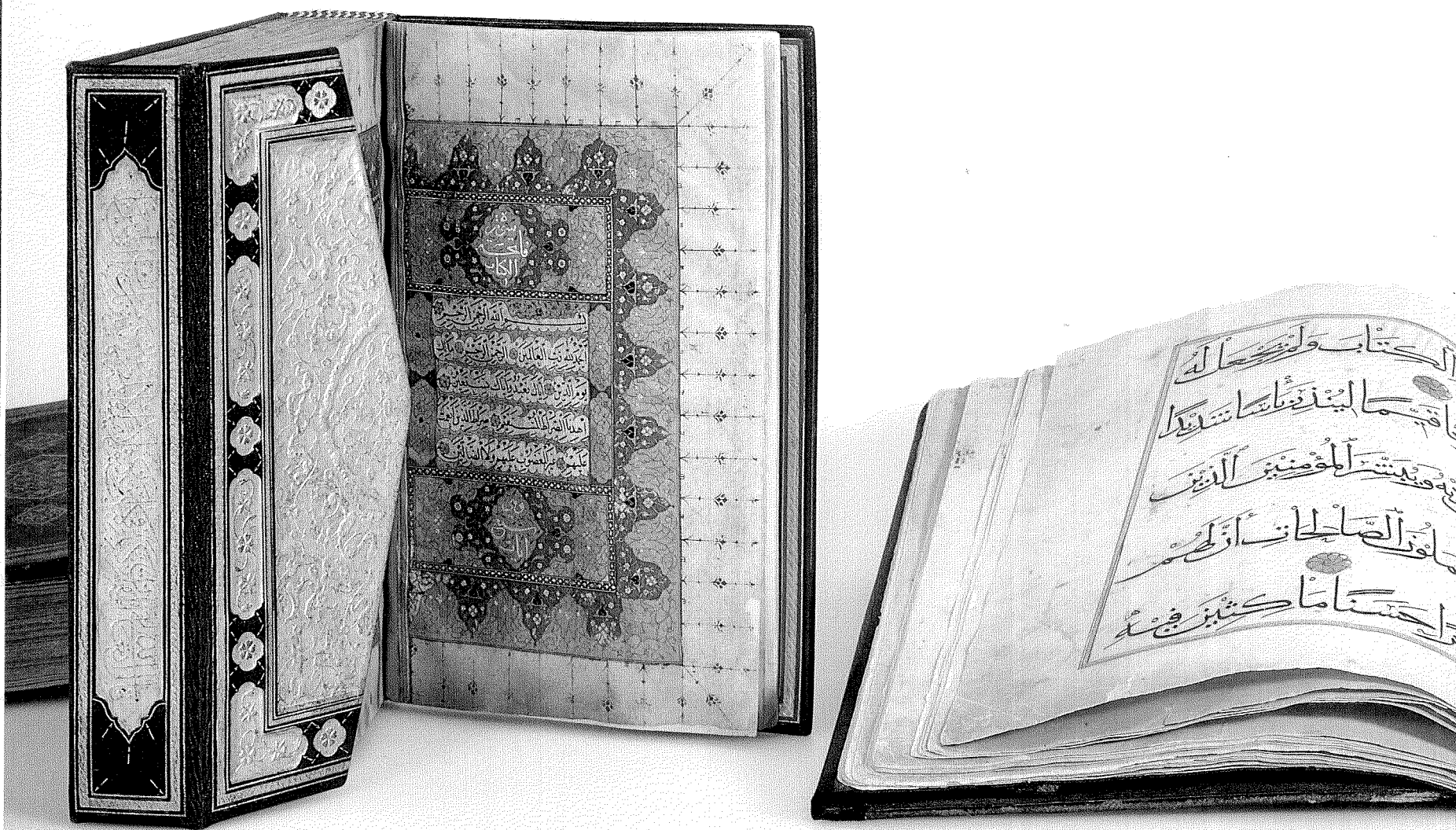

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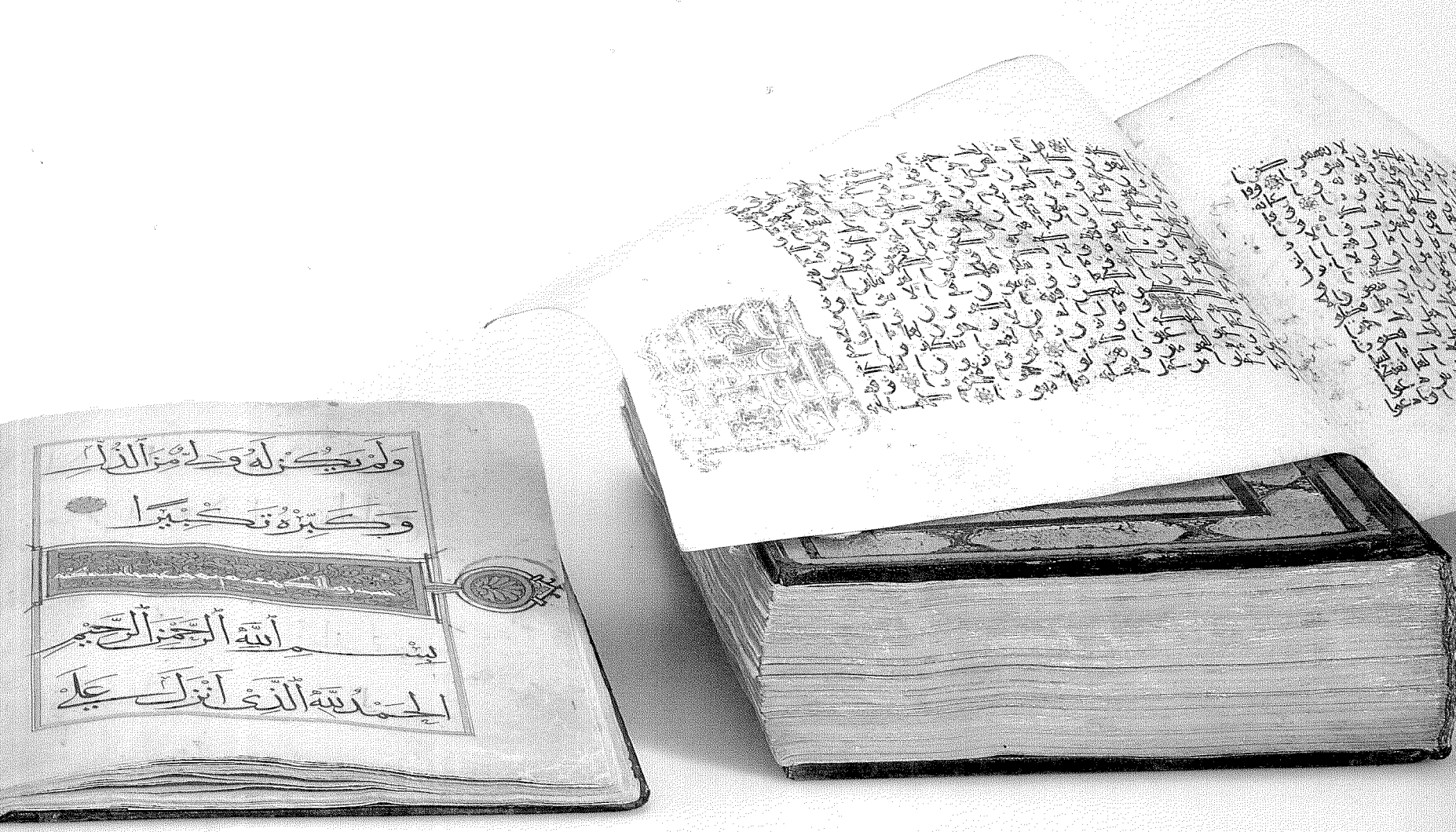
Qur'ans of the 10th to 14th centuries AD

by David James



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Foreword

Islamic manuscripts form one of the great intellectual and artistic patrimonies of mankind. Their importance has long been recognized in the non-Muslim West, where private individuals and public institutions have been collecting them for at least four centuries, but most are still to be found in the lands where they were made. Despite the efforts of several Muslim governments in the Near East and beyond and of institutions such as the Manuscript Commission of the League of Arab States, neither the total number of these works nor a full list of their locations can be given. This is so even in the case of Arabic manuscripts, the most extensively studied group. Nevertheless, it is clear that the numbers involved are considerable. A substantial proportion of these contain the text of the Holy Qur'an, for no other work can have been copied out by hand so often in the course of the last 1400 years. The majority of surviving Qur'ans are simply written and sparsely illuminated, but many are magnificent examples of the arts of the calligrapher and the illuminator.

The largest and finest collection of Qur'ans is undoubtedly that of the Topkapı Palace Library in Istanbul, which contains the major part of the former imperial library of the Ottoman sultans. There are also important collections in the library attached to the Astan-i Quds-i Rizavi, the shrine of Imam Riza in Mashhad; in the Museum of Ancient Iran in Tehran; in the National Library in Cairo; and in various libraries and museums in India. While circumstances have made the huge Topkapı collection well-nigh comprehensive, the others are not only smaller but have a more regional bias.

Collecting activity in Europe and North America has led to the accumulation of large numbers of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts, and as a matter of course these have included copies of the Qur'an. The main collection of Qur'ans outside the Muslim world are to be found in the British Library in London, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, in the Vatican Library in Rome, and in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin. However, with the exception of the Chester Beatty Library, the acquisition of this material was never pursued as systematically as in the case of literary, historical and scientific manuscripts. Even though the text of the Qur'an is invariable, palaeographic, aesthetic or historical criteria could have been used to determine what entered these collections, but, with the one exception, no attempt was made to apply such criteria.

It was with an awareness of the need for a consistent approach of this kind that I began to form a collection of Qur'anic manuscripts some 20 years ago. During this time attempts have been made to secure examples from every period and from every part of the Islamic world. As a result the body of material acquired is notable for the wide range it covers. This material can now be used to illustrate the entire spectrum of Qur'anic manuscript development, and, as there are often several examples from the same period, comparisons can be made both within the period and between contemporary manuscripts from different areas. The items in the Collection are of great historical and aesthetic importance. These have been conserved and, where appropriate, restored, and in some cases this has led to interesting discoveries.

The Qur'anic manuscripts that I have brought together are now to be published as the first four volumes of a general catalogue of the Collection. The first volume will cover the Qur'anic material in the three major styles that developed before AD 1000; the second encompasses material produced between AD 1000 and AD 1400; the third continues the task to the end of the 16th century; and the fourth includes the Qur'ans of the 17th century and later. My hope is that, when the publication of these four volumes is completed, they will constitute the most comprehensive survey of Qur'anic calligraphy and illumination yet undertaken. For their help in

achieving this aim my thanks are due to Dr François Déroche, the author of the volume on the earliest items, and Dr David James, author of the two succeeding volumes. My thanks are also due to Gordon Roberton and Christopher Phillips for their photography; to Don Baker and Henrietta Spink for their work on the conservation and restoration of the Collection; to Yasin Safadi, head of the Arabic section at the British Library, Nabil Saidi, Manijeh Bayani-Wolpert, Dr Marian Wenzel, and, most especially, Nahla Nassar, the assistant curator of the Khalili Collection, for helping with various aspects of the cataloguing work; and to the production team who worked so hard to produce these catalogues, Dr Julian Raby, Tim Stanley, Helen and Misha Anikst and Lorna Raby.

Nasser D. Khalili
London 1992

Qur'ans as Works of Art

The centrality of the Qur'an to the Islamic faith and its status as divine revelation have meant that for generations Muslims have made copies of their scripture that are as fine as their resources permitted. This pious desire for good manuscripts has led to the creation of some of the most impressive examples of religious art ever produced. The generally high standard of Qur'an production is in sharp contrast to the limited development of figurative painting in the Islamic world and the extinction of figural sculpture in all but a few instances. Indeed, it is probably fair to say that little within the various Islamic traditions of representational art has the same power to move the human spirit as the masterpieces of religious art produced by the non-Islamic civilizations of East and West. But the comparison is not appropriate, since the great bulk of Islamic painting was intended for secular purposes, even though it was produced within a predominantly religious ethos. The occasional Islamic paintings that do deal with religious themes were never meant to serve any devotional purpose but were intended as illustrations to literary texts; they cannot be considered as true works of religious art, although they may, and often do, have a spiritual element. The true Islamic equivalents of the great masterpieces of Christian, Buddhist and Hindu art are not the paintings in the Ottoman *Siyer-i Nebî* nor those in Safavid copies of the *Qiṣāṣ al-anbiyā'*.[1] The real parallels in terms of spiritual uplift are manuscripts such as the huge 30-part Qur'an made in Baghdad between 1306 and about 1313 for the Ilkhanid ruler Öljeytü,[2] or the single-volume copy written by Ahmed Karahisarî for the Ottoman sultan Süleyman the Magnificent *circa* 1556.[3]

The palaeographic and art-historical study of Qur'ans forms part of the overall study of the arts of the Islamic book, although Qur'an manuscripts are usually treated separately from non-Qur'anic material. There are differences between the two, such as the narrower range of scripts that could be used for Qur'ans and the much slower rate of change in Qur'anic illumination, but the reason for this separate treatment has more to do with the quantity and consistency of the Qur'anic material, for Qur'ans form the largest corpus of illuminated manuscript material from the Islamic world. In addition, the large number of extant Qur'ans affords us opportunities to trace the development of Islamic art in areas where little else survives. Our knowledge of the arts of the Islamic book for the first three centuries of the Islamic era is based entirely on Qur'anic material, for example, and there are no finely illuminated Islamic manuscripts from 12th-century Spain other than copies of the Qur'an; in fact, there are almost no other manuscripts at all. Another example is provided by the five surviving sections from a magnificently written and illuminated copy of the Qur'an produced for Qutb al-Din Muhammad, who ruled from Sinjar in the Jazirah between 1198 and 1219.[4] This is almost the only Qur'an known to have been made in the Jazirah in the early 13th century, and one of the few outstanding examples of Islamic art of the early 13th century whose provenance has been firmly established.

The main reason for the survival of so many Qur'an manuscripts over such a long period is the special protection that was accorded the sacred text they contain. Apart from war and natural disaster, damage was likely to occur only from dust, dampness and constant use. Because of constant use, bindings often became detached from their contents, and the volumes of multi-part Qur'ans became separated. Nevertheless, large numbers of single-volume copies have survived from the Middle Ages in near-perfect condition, no doubt because elaborate arrangements were made to protect them. Some mosques and madrasahs had a special room where multi-volume copies were stored in boxes made for the purpose, and single-volume copies were kept in bags.[5] Fine manuscripts were brought out to be read on Fridays and were placed on a lectern called a *kursī* or *raḥl*; afterwards they were returned to their place of

safekeeping. When Qur'ans were no longer readable because they were too damaged, the fragments were collected together and placed in a special storeroom, where they often lay forgotten for centuries.[6] Storerooms of this kind have been discovered in Kairouan, Cairo, Damascus and San'a'. Another cache was discovered in Mashhad in Iran, but in this case the Qur'ans had been hidden in the last century, when it was feared that the Russian army would capture the city. However, most Qur'ans that had been donated to mosques and other institutions remained *in situ* until the 19th or 20th century, when many of them were placed in museums or libraries.[7]

The work of placing this mass of material in its historical context is made easier by the documentary inscriptions found in many manuscripts. The primary source of documentary information is the colophon. The most usual form contains the name of the calligrapher, but in some instances the date of the manuscript's completion is also given, and very occasionally the name of the place where it was written is mentioned. Colophons giving the name of the illuminator and other details concerning the decoration of the manuscript are much rarer. When a manuscript was made to order, the scribe recorded this fact in a certificate of commissioning, sometimes known as the dedication. These often refer to the patron in elaborate terms that give his or her full ancestry and titles, and they were placed at the beginning or the end of the manuscript after the rest of the work had been completed but before it was presented to the patron.

Some Qur'ans contain other types of inscription that refer to their subsequent history. It was the custom for later owners to inscribe their names and the date of acquisition in the manuscript, and they often placed their seal beside their name. Such records were frequently defaced, but, where they do survive, they sometimes document the manuscript's entire history.[8] Some Qur'ans passed out of private hands and into public ownership by being donated to a religious institution such as a mosque or madrasah. When this happened, the transfer was recorded by an endowment notice (*waqfiyyah*). There are two types. Notices of the first kind formed an integral part of the manuscript and were usually illuminated in the same manner. They were never witnessed by religious officials. Notices of the second kind, which were added at a later stage and were rarely illuminated, sometimes bear the attestations of witnesses.

When Qur'ans formed part of large libraries, private or public, they were subject to periodic inspections by the librarian, who sometimes recorded the date of his inspection in the manuscript. Authentications provide another form of documentation; they record the opinion of a recognized authority that the manuscript is in the hand of a famous scribe or belonged to some well-known person. All documentation on manuscripts, in whatever form, was subject to erasure and alteration for a multitude of reasons. Very occasionally we can reverse this process with interesting results, as in the case of two of the manuscripts catalogued below, cat. 7 and 29. More often than not, however, we have to rely upon the analysis of the calligraphy and the illumination to establish the provenance of a manuscript.

The Study of Islamic Calligraphy and Illumination

The study of the history of Islamic calligraphy by Muslims has a long tradition, and the compilations of earlier writers such as Müstakimzâde and Qazi Ahmad were continued in the 20th century by Turkish and Persian scholars such as İnal and Bayani.[9] In their works the history of the subject was conceived as a series of biographies of great masters, with little substantial information on the stylistic developments for which these masters were famous.

No accumulation of biographical data on this scale occurred for artists who worked in other fields, and, as a consequence of this, we know more about calligraphers than we do about any other group of Islamic artists. This sustained interest in calligraphers was due not only to the high regard in which their aesthetic abilities were held; they were also accorded respect because of their role as the transmitters of the text of the Muslim scripture. Even when the elegant scripts developed for use in copying the Qur'an began to be used for non-Qur'anic texts, the fact that calligraphers used the letters of the alphabet in which the divine revelation had been recorded still contributed most to the prestige of the art of the pen.

Other Islamic writings on calligraphy deal with the practice of penmanship. Interest in this aspect of the subject has not fared quite so well. The understanding of both the terminology and the lore of calligraphic practice has declined noticeably in the Islamic world over the past hundred years, even though fine examples of calligraphy have continued to be produced. Few calligraphers in the present century would be able to understand in full the technical treatises of Ibn al-Bawwab, Ibn al-Wahid, al-Tibi and Ibn al-Sa'igh, for example; it does not help matters that some of these were written in verse.[10]

The first attempts at a serious study of Islamic calligraphy in the non-Muslim West were made in the 18th and 19th centuries by scholars such as Adler who had undertaken the task of cataloguing the Islamic manuscripts in European collections. Their main interest was in tracing the development of the Arabic script in the early centuries of the Islamic era, and their work was largely confined to the analysis and deciphering of the Hijazi and early Abbasid scripts, which were all lumped together under the misleading name of Kufic.[11] During this period publications on Islamic art consisted almost entirely of collections of engravings of architecture and *objets d'art*, and it was not until the end of the 19th century that scholars such as Stanley Lane-Poole began to write seriously about the subject, and Islamic calligraphy too began to receive serious attention as an art form. Lane-Poole made some pertinent comments on the great Qur'an of Baybars al-Jashnikir in the British Museum (now the British Library) and on the Qur'ans of Sultan Sha'ban in Cairo,[12] but other calligraphic and palaeographic studies of the period were confined to recording architectural epigraphy and inscriptions on tombstones.

The first European work specifically devoted to the history of Islamic calligraphy dates from 1908, when the French orientalist Clément Huart produced *Les Calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*. This was a biographical survey of calligraphers, most of them Ottoman, and was based on various Turkish and Persian compilations, of which it was, in a sense, a continuation. Huart's book remained the main biographical source until 1959, when Minorsky's English translation of Qazi Ahmad's *Gulistān-i hunar* appeared, providing a simple and readable series of biographies of all the major Persian calligraphers. A few years earlier, in 1955, D.S. Rice had produced a model study of a major calligrapher and his work in his monograph on the Qur'an of Ibn al-Bawwab in Dublin.[13] Rice established the authenticity of the manuscript by a detailed examination of its script and illumination, which he related to what was known of the life and work of the scribe.

Huart's work was followed by a number of studies on the early history of the Arabic script by Schroeder, Abbott, Grohmann and others, who concentrated to a large extent on what seem in retrospect to have been rather futile attempts to reconstruct the so-called proportioned script of Ibn Muqlah. The study of calligraphic technique and terminology was not pursued with the same determination, and the confused chapters on *Calligraphy* and *Ornamental Naskhi* in the otherwise largely admirable *Survey of Persian Art* show how superficially the whole

matter was understood in the West.[14] On the positive side, there was a good general survey of the subject by Kühnel as well as useful translations of Arabic texts on calligraphic practice by Robertson and Rosenthal.[15] In recent years a number of Muslim and Western scholars have turned their attention to medieval works on calligraphy. Most of their work is still to be published, but it seems likely that within a few years we will have a much clearer picture of the practice and terminology of Islamic calligraphy.[16]

Apart from Qazi Ahmad's comments on the work of Safavid painters, Islamic manuscript illumination, whether Qur'anic or secular, was rarely discussed by Muslim writers before the 20th century.[17] Even then most writers on Islamic art in Iran, Turkey and the Arab world were too influenced by Western scholars' emphasis on representational art to pay more than passing attention to illumination, although this attitude has changed somewhat in recent years.[18] In the West the study of Islamic illumination has gone from the matter-of-fact approach of *A Survey of Persian Art* to the mathematical, metaphysical and mystical interpretations of Critchlow, Lings and Burckhardt. Interpretations of this kind have also been produced by writers of Near Eastern origin such as Sayyid Hussein Nasr. Both their work and that of their Western counterparts have been written in the context of a new approach to Islamic geometric and non-representational art that emphasizes the continuity between the visual arts of the Islamic world and the metaphysical and philosophical roots of Islamic culture.

Qur'ans of the 11th to 14th centuries

A number of important developments that affected their format, material, script and decoration distinguish Qur'ans made after *circa* AD 1000. These changes are first fully documented for Iraq at the very beginning of the 11th century, and over the next 200 years they took effect in most other parts of the Islamic world, the major exception being the Maghrib, where a more conservative style of book production was maintained. This phase in the history of Qur'an production reached its apogee with the exquisite copies made in the Mamluk and Ilkhanid empires in the early 14th century. After 1400, however, the arts of the book in the whole of the Eastern Islamic World came under the influence of a new style formulated in the Timurid courts of western Central Asia.

Composition of the manuscript

By AD 1000 the physical composition of Qur'an manuscripts had altered dramatically. In most areas paper had replaced vellum as the material for the text block, and horizontal formats, in which the codex is wider than it is long, gave way to vertical formats, in which it was longer than it is wide. In the Maghrib, however, Qur'an manuscripts were often square, and the text was written on vellum. In Spain a type of Qur'an codex three inches square seems to have been produced in large numbers. The origin of the Maghribi square format has never been satisfactorily explained. It could have developed from either the horizontal format or the vertical format, or it could have been a purely local innovation. These questions remain unanswered because of the lack of Maghribi Qur'ans from before 1090.[19]

In both the Maghrib and the Islamic lands further east Qur'ans were produced either in single-volume copies called *muṣḥaf* or in multi-volume copies known as *rab'ah*. The most usual form of *rab'ah* was in thirty volumes, but copies in sixty, seven and sometimes two volumes were also made. In the Maghrib four-volume Qur'ans were common. Manuscripts of both types varied enormously in size, from minute examples written as talismanic or

novelty–virtuoso pieces to enormous pieces written by scribes as demonstrations of their skill or devotion or commissioned by rulers as displays of both power and piety.

The art of papermaking, first imported from China in the 8th century, had reached such a level of sophistication by the 11th century that papers of superb quality were produced. They were of uniform colour and texture and could be made up to virtually any size. Pulp was usually made from rags or textile waste, which were soaked and then beaten with varying degrees of intensity. The resulting mixture was laid on moulds made of reeds, horsehair, metal wires or some other form of filament, which usually leave a visible impression on the finished paper known as laid lines. Wove paper was also produced; this is featureless, probably because it was moulded on a piece of fabric. After drying, the paper was often sized and polished. There are numerous different types of paper, but, as no tradition of watermarking grew up in the Islamic world as it did in Europe after 1300, few Islamic papers can be identified with particular centres of production. A heavy, soft type was produced before 1400, when it was superseded by a hard, thin, well-polished type of admirable quality. In later years European paper was often imported and occasionally used for Qur'ans, but examples of European paper used in Qur'ans before 1450 are extremely rare. Indeed, one of the Qur'ans described below, cat. 34, is on Italian paper of *circa* 1340 and seems to be the earliest known example of a Qur'an produced using Western paper.[20]

Before the scribe commenced his work, the sheets of paper were folded into four or eight and then cut to make several bifolios. The surface of the paper was indented with horizontal lines by means of a threaded board known as a *mis̱tarah*. There were rarely less than five lines or more than twenty-one; even numbers were sometimes used, but odd numbers seem to have been the norm. The bifolios were then sewn into gatherings. No reliable figures are available for the average number of bifolios in a gathering, but the examination of manuscripts with original sewings suggests that four or five bifolios per gathering was normal.

Calligraphy

One of the most important changes that affected Qur'an production from the 11th century AD onwards concerned the style of script used. The so-called Kufic styles developed in earlier centuries for writing the Qur'an went out of use as far as the main text was concerned; in their place scribes used mainly *muḥaqqaq* and *naskh*, two of the styles generally but inappropriately called the cursive scripts. *Muḥaqqaq* and *naskh*, together with the rarer *rayḥān*, were termed the *khuṭūṭ al-yābisah* or 'dry scripts', by which was meant the scripts in which the rectilinear element predominated. *Muḥaqqaq* and *rayḥān* were used almost exclusively for copying the Qur'an, while *naskh* had a much wider application. A second group, the *khuṭūṭ al-muraṭṭabah* or 'dampened scripts', was characterized by an emphasis on curvilinear elements. Two of these styles – *riqā'* and *tawqī'* – were purely chancery hands. In Qur'ans their use was mainly limited to colophons, dedications, endowment notices and other inscriptions, although they were occasionally employed for surah headings.[21] *Thulth*, the third style in this group, was used far more often for these incidental texts, and from time to time we find whole Qur'ans of exceptional beauty written in this style. The 30-part copy made for Qutb al-Din Muhammad of Sinjar *circa* 1200, for example, was copied in gold *thulth* outlined in black,[22] as was the seven-part Qur'an made for the Mamluk amir Baybars al-Jashnikir in 1304–1306.[23]

The 'dry' rectilinear and 'dampened' curvilinear styles had long existed side by side with the traditional Qur'anic scripts, and the process by which the latter were replaced by the former was gradual. The earliest dated Qur'an in *naskh* was produced in Baghdad in AD 1000–1,[24] and

the earliest dated *muḥaqqaq* Qur'an was written in Iran in 1160.[25] By this time Eastern Kufic, the last phase in the development of the earlier Qur'anic scripts, had become so influenced by *naskh* that the change must have seemed a natural step; nevertheless, Eastern Kufic continued to be used for the main text of the Qur'an well into the 12th century,[26] and as late as 1271 we still find *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* (CXII) written in Eastern Kufic in a Qur'an that is otherwise in *naskh*.[27] Even when Eastern Kufic was no longer employed for the text of the Qur'an, it continued to be used in a complementary role in surah headings, section numbers, verse counts and other incidental texts. At the same time its decorative features were developed and eventually came to predominate, with great loss of legibility. In some periods it is possible to identify varieties of ornamental Kufic with individual artists. In the Mamluk period, for example, the artists who produced the so-called 'star-polygon' group of Qur'ans for Sultan Sha'ban and his mother employed an extremely idiosyncratic variety of Kufic for supplementary inscriptions, whereas Ibrahim al-Amidi, who illuminated a second large group of Qur'ans for the same patrons, used a very simple, sober type of almost classical Kufic for the same texts.[28]

The distinct line of development that characterized the arts of the book in the Maghrib from the 11th century is also seen in the script styles employed in the region. The *andalusī* and *maghribī* styles used there for Qur'ans seem to have been derived more directly from the varieties of Kufic used in the Maghrib before the 11th century than from the non-Qur'anic scripts that existed alongside them. Unfortunately our knowledge of the history of the Arabic script in Spain and western North Africa before the 11th century is mainly confined to monumental inscriptions. As in the rest of the Islamic world, an increasingly decorative form of Kufic was employed for surah headings and other incidental texts. In the Maghrib this script became more and more convoluted, with extra decorative ligatures and the closing up of the spaces between the characters.[29]

Illumination

The text of the Qur'an was revealed as a series of verses (*āyāt*), which were arranged in 114 surahs of unequal length. A second scheme of division is based on 30 equal sections called *juz'*. By the 11th century these divisions were normally indicated in the text by illuminated devices. Individual verses were usually marked by rosettes, while each group of five or ten verses was indicated by a device in the margin. The name of each surah, the number of verses it contained and an indication of where it was revealed were almost always set in an illuminated panel, which was often accompanied by a decorative medallion in the outer margin. Each *juz'* was indicated by an inscription or a number in the margin.

Increasingly elaborate illumination came to be used for the first and last pages of the text. At first this decoration was confined to the surah headings that appeared on these pages, but it later expanded to form a frame around the text. In the earliest surviving Qur'an in *naskh*, that produced by Ibn al-Bawwab in Baghdad in AD 1000–1, the calligrapher–illuminator used a rather archaic method of presenting the opening surahs of the Qur'an, placing the first surah above the beginning of the second surah on the same page.[30] Other artists of his period chose to place the two texts on separate pages, providing the standard for all later Qur'an illumination. Ibn al-Bawwab's Qur'an does show the impact of other developments in illumination, such as the introduction of new colours.

The last area of illumination to develop also became the finest. This was the decorative frontispiece, which, unlike the other illuminated elements, served no functional purpose. At first it was sometimes used to give details of the number of surahs, verses, letters and

diacriticals contained in the Qur'an, but this practice had largely ceased by the end of the 11th century. Thereafter the frontispiece either contained no written material or was inscribed with verses from the Qur'an that refer to the Qur'an itself. In some periods there were also illuminated finispieces. In 30-part Qur'ans the title of each part normally appeared in a panel at the top of the opening page of the text, but sometimes each volume was given an illuminated frontispiece.

The calligraphy and the illumination were often executed by different people, but there was no firm rule. Documentary information on illuminators is not as readily available as that on calligraphers, for, while calligraphers usually signed their work, there are many periods when we have no examples of illuminators' signatures. When we have a substantial number of manuscripts made in the same place in the same period, we can sometimes identify the work of a master on the basis of a common style, even if the illumination is unsigned.

The geometric element

By the 11th century the two basic elements of Qur'anic illumination were geometric patterns and vegetal motifs, and they remained so until the 15th century, when geometric patterns dropped out of use everywhere except the Maghrib. Geometric elements, particularly interlace motifs, were found in the panels surrounding surah headings, but they were given great prominence in frontispieces and finispieces. The geometric designs used in the frontispieces of the Qur'ans in the vertical format that appeared in the 11th century were simply adaptations to a vertical axis of those previously used in Qur'ans in horizontal format. The designs often consisted of two intersecting circles with a third element in the area formed by the intersection.[31] Their prototypes were found in many earlier horizontal-format Qur'ans, which were written in Kufic script on vellum. The transition is clearly illustrated by the frontispiece of a Qur'an in this Collection which was written in Kufic on vellum but whose format is vertical.[32] The archaic geometric designs of the early 11th century gave rise to the geometric designs in Saljuq Qur'ans. The frontispiece in a Saljuq Qur'an made at Hamadan in 1164 is not so very far removed from the designs in a horizontal-format Kufic Qur'an in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[33] Designs such as that in the Saljuq Qur'an in turn gave rise – via Fatimid and Ayyubid art – to the star-polygon frontispieces of Ilkhanid and Mamluk Qur'ans, which are the very apogee of the geometric frontispiece. Yet these designs went out of use almost as quickly as they had appeared. The star-polygon frontispieces that adorn the Qur'ans produced in the first half of the reign of the Mamluk sultan Sha'ban (1363–75) were almost never repeated. They were superseded by an interesting, though short-lived, style of decoration which is still geometric but uses entirely different designs. Some of these run counter to the hitherto accepted principles of Islamic, and particularly Mamluk, pattern, by which a design had to be totally regular in order to be infinitely repeatable.[34] Besides the star-polygon design, other geometric frontispiece designs were developed that lacked their strong centrifugal element. In Ilkhanid work they take the form of blocks of a repeating pattern of one or more motifs. Some of the best examples occur in the Qur'an made for Sultan Öljeytü in Hamadan in 1313.[35]

In the geometric designs used for Qur'an frontispieces in 12th- and 13th-century Anatolia interlace was often used to fill geometric areas.[36] Elsewhere interlace was used only for strapwork borders. It is found in some of the earliest Qur'an illumination and is one of those elements common to both Christian and Islamic art. It took a multiplicity of forms and was created simply by joining up dots made at regular intervals, probably using a template. The standard

type consists solely of gold strapwork, although squares and rectangles were sometimes inserted into it.[37]

In the Maghrib geometry was the mainstay of the region's distinct tradition of Qur'an illumination, which was in part determined by the square format of Maghribi Qur'ans. Unlike the frontispiece designs in Qur'ans with vertical formats, the square compositions found in Maghribi Qur'ans cannot be traced back to the rectangular frontispieces of Kufic Qur'ans with horizontal formats. It would have been difficult to adapt any of the earlier designs to fit a square format, and none of the designs found in square Maghribi Qur'ans seems to repeat them. The commonest design in the Maghribi examples is based on a circle within a square. The circular element is usually made up of an interlace. Another frequently used type consists of an interlace element that is repeated in the four quarters of the square. A third type consists of interlocking elements. Most designs in 12th- and 13th-century Andalusian and North African Qur'ans are one or other of these.[38] There are exceptions, as in the case of the centrifugal design of the 12th-century Qur'an from Cordoba now in Istanbul University Library.[39] The latter is also distinct in not having heavy bands of gold strapwork around the frontispiece. This was invariably used in Maghribi manuscripts and was produced by the same method as was used further east.

The vegetal element

The decorative repertory of late Roman art formed the basis of Islamic decorative art. Most figural elements within the Roman tradition were rejected, and artists working for Muslim patrons had to confine themselves to plant forms, such as the undulating scroll, the arabesque and various embryonic leaf forms, and to elements borrowed from Sasanian art, such as wings, ribbons and vases. By the 11th century most of these Sasanian elements had disappeared, but other motifs that can also be traced back to pre-Islamic art, such as palmettes and petalled borders, were widely used. The palmette, a heart-shaped device with radiating symmetrical lobes, was the staple of Qur'anic illumination. In the central Islamic lands palmettes were the element traditionally used for borders and were usually joined laterally by another element, simple or complex, stylized or naturalistic. In combination, the two devices could be used to create borders of any length. Palmette borders were initially of gold, but by the 14th century colour had been introduced, and this permitted the use of secondary elements running through the main design.[40]

After the Mongol conquest of Iran and Iraq in the 13th century, chinoiserie elements were introduced into the artistic vocabulary of Islamic illuminators. These included lotuses and peonies, as well as Buddhist elements such as knots and cicada shapes. The two latter had disappeared by the following century, but lotuses and peonies were used extensively in Mamluk Qur'an illumination of the 14th century. By the reign of Sultan Sha'ban they were the dominant element,[41] but in the 15th century they were but two of a variety of floral elements, none of which was given particular emphasis.

In general, Qur'anic illumination made use of stylized vegetal imagery, only rarely admitting recognizable botanical species. Even when this did occur, as is the case with the lotus and the peony, they were incorporated into stylized, anti-naturalistic compositions, in which they were artificially composed to fill a space.

Illumination in the Maghrib remained isolated from most of the developments taking place in the central Islamic lands. Vegetal elements were used extensively in the marginal palmettes attached to surah headings. There was a plethora of combinations and convolutions, even

within a single Qur'an, and almost no two are alike.[42] Other colours are often combined with the basic gold and blue of the palmettes. Vegetal forms play a marginal role in Maghribi frontispieces, being used mostly to fill the interstices in geometric patterns. The vegetal elements of Maghribi Qur'an illumination can be traced back to the decorative repertory of Kufic Qur'ans produced before AD 1000, as can other decorative details such as the use of patterns made up of minute coloured squares.

Bindings

By the 11th century Qur'an bindings were made of pasteboard covered with leather. The board was produced by gluing sheets of paper together, and the paper used for this purpose was usually blank or consisted of discarded sheets from damaged or dismembered manuscripts. When the binding of cat. 17 was taken apart in the course of repair, the board proved to be made up of numerous Qur'an fragments, including complete pages copied in *naskh* and Eastern Kufic. It would seem that the recycling of Qur'an leaves in this manner was an acceptable alternative to placing them in a special storeroom or disposing of them by some other legitimate means. The boards were covered on both sides with leather made of sheepskin or goatskin and were joined by a leather spine.[43] The binding was then attached to the book-block by leather hinges.[44]

Before being attached to the boards, the leather was decorated with a geometric pattern consisting of a field containing a central medallion and corner-pieces and surrounded by a border. Before the 14th century the method used to effect this decoration was blind tooling. The leather was dampened, a design was traced out on it, and the tooling was applied cold with a punch. Later, larger stamps made of metal or hardened leather were used to reproduce a circular or oval design for a centrepiece or an angular design for a corner-piece. Large panel stamps for embossing half a cover at one go were also used. These may have been heated before being applied.[45] The leather was also engraved and gilded. Mamluk doublures were almost invariably made of printed leather, which was cut from a roll.[46] Like most other Islamic manuscripts, Qur'ans had an envelope flap which tucked in under the front cover to protect the foredge.[47] The flap was decorated in the same style as the cover, but sometimes with a different design. The foredge flap was often stamped with verses 77–80 from *Sūrat al-wāqi'ah* (LVI), which served, in effect, as a title.

New directions after 1400

The turn of the 15th century marks something of a watershed in the history of Qur'an production. By *circa* 1400 the Turco-Mongol chieftain Timur-i Lang (Tamerlane) had conquered Iran, Iraq and western Central Asia, invaded India, and was about to crush and humiliate the only Muslim powers in the Middle East capable of resisting him – the Ottomans and the Mamluks. Although Timurid power in Iran, Iraq and western Central Asia withered away over the next century, and the Ottomans returned to centre stage, the Timurids' triumph in the visual arts was supreme. The Timurid style of book production became the model for scribes and artists in areas as far apart as Istanbul, Cairo and Delhi, and Qur'ans were affected by this as much as any other type of manuscript.[48]

1. For the *Siyer-i Nebî* ('Biography of the Prophet'), see Tanındı 1984. For the *Qiṣāṣ al-anbiyā'* ('Tales of the prophets'), see Stchoukine 1964, p. 138; and Arberry and others 1959–62, III, pp. 9–10.
2. James 1988, cat.no. 40.
3. Istanbul 1983, cat.no. E192.
4. See cat. 7 below.
5. The Qur'an of the Great Mosque of Cordoba supposedly in the hand of the caliph 'Uthman

was kept in an embroidered bag; see Dessus-Lamare 1938, p. 554. The Qur'ans taken from the madrasah of Sultan Sha'ban in the 15th century were kept in silken bags; see al-Maqrizi, IV, p. 252.
6. Sadan 1986.
7. In Cairo many manuscripts, including the finest Mamluk Qur'ans, were collected by the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe and housed in the Khedival Library, now the National Library.
8. Gacek 1987.
9. For the works of these and other authors mentioned in the text, see the Bibliography.
10. For Ibn al-Bawwab's *Rā'iyyah fī'l-khaṭṭ* ('Ode on the art of calligraphy') and Ibn al-Wahid's commentary on it, see James 1989. Al-Tibi and Ibn al-Sa'igh have been published in full.
11. For a full discussion, see volume I of this catalogue.
12. Lane-Poole 1886, pp. 255–6; see also note 23 below.
13. Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1431. The work has a colophon giving the place of production as Baghdad, the date as AH 391/AD 1000–1 and the name of the copyist as 'Ali ibn Hilal, more commonly known as Ibn al-Bawwab. It is the calligrapher's only extant work generally accepted as genuine.
14. Pope & Ackerman 1938–9, IV.
15. For other Arabic texts on penmanship, see Gacek 1987.
16. Examples are Gacek's researches on terminology and Mamluk chancery practices and Ahmad Moustafa's work on Ibn Muqlah and Ibn al-Bawwab.
17. Qazi Ahmad–Minorsky, pp. 174–94.
18. See Tanındı 1986, for example.
19. For the earliest dated Maghribi Qur'ans, see the table on p. 89.
20. I am grateful to Don Baker for sharing his knowledge of early Islamic papers with me.
21. See James 1989.
22. Cat. 7.
23. London, British Library, ADD. MSS 22406–22413. The script of the latter was called *thulth ash'ar* by Ibn Iyas; see James 1988, p. 38. Gacek 1987, p. 128, note 22, suggests that it is more probably *tawqī'*.
24. See note 13 above.
25. Cairo, National Library, MS. 144; see Lings & Safadi 1976, cat.no. 60.
26. An example is Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MS. EH42, dated 1177–8; see Lings 1976, pl. 19.
27. Cat. 18.
28. James 1988, p. 187; see also pp. 172–5 below.
29. For an example, see Istanbul, Museum of Turkish & Islamic Arts, MS. 360; Lings 1976, pl. 98.
30. Rice 1955.
31. Compare cat. 1, folios 1b–2a.
32. QUR286, folios 58b–59a; see volume I if this catalogue. The design is almost identical to that of Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1407, folios 3b–4a; see James 1980, cat.no. 4.
33. Philadelphia, University Museum, MS. N.E.-P. 27 (London 1976, cat.no. 508); and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. arab. 5178 (Déroche 1985, cat.no. 142.
34. James 1988, pp. 197–203.
35. James 1988, fig. 82.
36. An example is Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1466; see James 1980, cat.no. 69.
37. James 1988, fig. 99.
38. Examples are cat. 20, cat. 54 and Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1443 (James 1980, cat.no. 89).
39. MS. A6755; see Karatay 1951, pl. VIII.
40. James 1988, fig. 141.
41. Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MSS 6 and 54; see Lings 1976, cat.nos 65 and 75, and James 1988, cat.nos 28 and 30.
42. See cat. 20, for example.
43. According to Haldane 1983, p. 15, the Islamic bindings in the Victoria & Albert Museum are either sheepskin or goatskin.
44. Chicago 1981, fig. 3.
45. Chicago 1981, pp. 68–71.
46. Chicago 1981, pp. 65–6.
47. Chicago 1981, fig. 3.
48. See volume III of this catalogue.

PART I

AD 1000–1300

The Eastern Islamic World

The principles that underlay Qur'an production in the Eastern Islamic world in the later Middle Ages were first formulated in Iraq at the very beginning of the 11th century AD and gradually usurped the traditional rules of Qur'an production throughout the region. By the end of the 12th century paper had come into general use; the format of the codex had changed from horizontal to vertical; the 'dry' scripts – *naskh, muḥaqqaq* and *rayḥān*– had taken over the role of Kufic as the Qur'anic script *par excellence*; and the arrangements of the text and its relationship to the illumination had assumed its standard form. Cat.1 is an early example of this new type. It belongs to a small corpus of Qur'ans from the first half of the 11th-century that are usually attributed to eastern Iran, although in one respect – the design of its frontispiece – it has more in common with the Qur'an written in Baghdad in AD1001 by Ibn al-Bawwab.[1] A second 11th-century Qur'an in the Collection, cat.2, is one of the few examples of a Qur'an written in *naskh* script on vellum. The calligraphy has a fluidity that is absent from other 11th-century examples, including a Qur'an in *naskh* dated 1037,[2] and this suggests that cat.2 dates from later in the century. A 12th-century Qur'an, cat.5, stands out because of its fine large hand and a number of curious features, including the rare three-line format of the text. This manuscript is assigned here to north-west Iran.

The radical innovations in Qur'an production in the 11th and 12th centuries were in part due to political developments, for these provided a cultural environment favourable to change. From AD 750 most of the Islamic world had been ruled from capitals in Iraq by caliphs of the Abbasid dynasty, but from the late 9th century the central authority of the caliphs gradually collapsed. Power passed to a number of local dynasties, several of whom were Shi'ite in character, notably the Fatimids in Egypt and Syria and the Buyids in Iraq and Iran. The dynasties that overthrew these Shi'ite regimes, the Saljuqs and the Ayyubids, were Sunnis, and they presented their rule as the restoration of Sunni orthodoxy and of the spiritual – if not the temporal – authority of the Abbasid caliphs.

The Great Saljuqs, who were of Turkish origin, controlled Iraq, Iran and Transoxiana with varying degrees of effectiveness from 1038 until 1194. Other branches ruled independently in Syria and Kirman, as well as in Anatolia, where the Saljuqs maintained themselves until the early years of the 14th century. The dynasty's policy of sending out its younger male members as provincial governors inadvertently led to the rise of a series of small but powerful states that were established by the *atabegs*, the princes' tutor-guardians. Besides the Eldigüzids of Azerbaijan and the Salghurids of Fars, the main *atabeg* dynasty was that of the Zangids, who ruled at Mosul from 1127 to 1222. Another branch of the family ruled in Syria from 1146 to 1181, when the Mosul branch absorbed its remaining territories, and a third controlled Sinjar and Nisibin in the Jazirah from 1171 to 1220. The Zangids recruited large numbers of Kurds into their service, and two of their Kurdish commanders, the brothers Ayyub and Shirkuh, founded the Ayyubid dynasty that controlled Egypt, Syria and the northern Jazirah down to the mid-13th century. One branch continued to hold the area around Amid (now Diyarbakır in south-east Turkey) down to the 15th century.

The restoration of Sunni rule in Iran and the Fertile Crescent in the 11th century was followed by a period of great cultural innovation. A major institutional development was the spread of the madrasah, the formal teaching establishment promoted mainly by the Saljuqs as a counterweight to heterodox beliefs. From the time of the outstanding Saljuq vizier Nizam al-Mulk (*d* 1092), the institution spread throughout Iran, Iraq and Khurasan, while in Syria it was encouraged by the Zangid Nur al-Din Mahmud (*reg* 1146–63) and by the Ayyubids, especially Salah al-Din (Saladin; *reg* 1174–93). The foundation of the new madrasahs was of some

significance for Qur'an production, as each school had a library attached, and this almost certainly led to a significant growth of demand for Qur'ans and other manuscripts.

Hitherto only one Zangid Qur'an has been identified; the two surviving sections are now in the Keir Collection and bear endowment inscriptions stating that the Qur'an was donated to the Hanafiyyah madrasah in Damascus by Nur al-Din Mahmud in 1167.[3] However, restoration work on cat. 7 has shown that the Qur'an from which it comes was produced for a member of the Zangid dynasty and is thus one of the finest pre-Mongol Qur'ans in existence. Three other sections from the Qur'an survive, but none contained any documentary inscriptions, and the Qur'an was attributed to a Saljuq or even a Mamluk source.[4] The restoration work on cat. 7 has revealed its certificate of commissioning, which, although damaged and painted over at a later date, still contains the name of the patron, Qutb al-Din Muhammad, who ruled from Sinjar in the Jazirah (now in north-west Iraq) from 1198 to 1219. All the surviving sections are fully illuminated and provide us with a major corpus of manuscript decoration for an area for which we previously had almost nothing.

In the first quarter of the 13th century the Mongols arrived in eastern Iran and devastated the region. By 1258 most of Iran and Iraq was under their control. Few Qur'ans have survived from the second and third quarters of the 13th century, no doubt because of the disruption caused by the invasion and the fact that the Ilkhanid empire the Mongols established was ruled by non-Muslims until the conversion of Ghazan Khan in 1296. No Qur'ans produced in Baghdad are known from this period, although a number of secular manuscripts were produced in the city at this time.[5] In the last quarter of the 13th century Muslim Iranians began to play a more prominent role in the empire, and the Mongols themselves came more and more under the influence of the Islamic culture of Iran. This led to a revival in the production of manuscripts, including Qur'ans. Several of these are among the most outstanding examples of Qur'anic calligraphy and illumination of any period. The most influential calligrapher of the age was Yaqut al-Musta'simi, who lived in Baghdad. Six of the manuscripts catalogued below have been attributed to Yaqut. The first, cat. 11, is of outstanding importance, for it is one of the four surviving parts of a 30-part Qur'an copied by Yaqut in 1282–3, the only manuscript attributed to the calligrapher that is unquestionably of late 13th- or early 14th-century Baghdadi origin. Cat. 11 is of particularly significance because, unlike the three other parts that survive, it retains its original illumination, which can be directly related to contemporary Qur'ans that are undoubtedly of Baghdadi provenance. Several manuscripts that were signed by Yaqut and are probably genuine have colophons that mention Baghdad as their place of origin, but only cat. 11 has illumination that matches this claim.[6]

1. This is Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1431; see p. 13, note 13 and pp. 16–17 above.
2. Rice 1955, pl. XIV, e and f.
3. MS. VII, 3–4; see Robinson and others 1976, p. 287.
4. Martin 1912, pl. 237.
5. See Buchthal 1942; Ettinghausen 1962, pp. 97–103; and James 1976, p. 19.
6. See *The Problem of Yaqut al-Musta'simi* below, pp. 58–9.

I

Single-volume Qur'an

Iraq or Iran, *circa* AD 1000–1050

202 folios, 14×11 cm, with 20 lines to the page
Material A buff, lightly polished paper, laid, with 5–6 lines to the centimetre; rib shadows are visible 7 cm apart
Text area 10.5×7 cm
Interlinear spacing 0.5 cm
Script The main text in naskh, incidentals in Kufic
Binding A 19th-century European restoration
Accession no. QUR284
Comparative items London, British Library, ADD.MS.7214 and OR.MS.13,002;[1] Istanbul, Museum of Turkish & Islamic Arts, MS.449;[2] and Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS.1430.[3] Compare also Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS.1431.[4]

This Qur'an is related to a group of four that have been ascribed to eastern Iran. Two of the four bear no evidence of when they were produced,[5] but one is dated AH427/AD 1036,[6] and the other AH428/AD 1037.[7] In the design of its frontispiece, however, cat. 1 is much closer to the Qur'an copied by Ibn al-Bawwab in Baghdad in AH391/AD 1001.[8] In the Ibn al-Bawwab manuscript both the frontispiece and finispiece are composed of interlocking circles, a design directly derived from the frontispieces of earlier Kufic Qur'ans in horizontal format.[9] This indicates that designs for horizontal formats continued in use until new designs were devised for vertical formats. The frontispiece of cat. 1 is not complete. Remains of the left-hand half only are found on folio 1a. The principal features of the design are two circles arranged vertically and a pointed oval figure formed where the circles intersect, all contained within a rectangular frame. The main colours used are gold, blue and sepia, and the design includes part of the verse, letter and diacritical count.

Each surah heading is written in gold in Kufic script, with a marginal gold palmette which occasionally contains the name of the place where the surah was revealed. The headings of the first two surahs are both on folio 1b, an arrangement that was fast becoming obsolete; they are contained within oblong panels, and there is a plain border around the text of this and the facing page.

The main text is in black. The verses are not marked individually, but groups of five are indicated by an oval, and groups of ten by a circle. In addition, each group of ten is marked by a marginal medallion bearing the number of verses written out in gold in Kufic script. The two final surahs have large panels above and below. Those above the text have the surah titles in gold over gold arabesque scrolls. Those below the text bear the inscription *Ṣaddaqa'llāh al-'aẓīm wa-ṣallā'llāh 'alā Muḥammad wa-ālihi ajma'īn* ('Allah the Mighty has spoken. May He bless Muhammad and all his line') extending over both pages.

The manuscript ends with a double finispiece. Each half contains two semicircles attached by a small rectangle. Above and below are segments of two circles, which together form an axe-head shape defined by a border of ring-dots. All the circle segments contain palmette scroll motifs. The field above and below is decorated with vertical stripes, alternately plain gold and hatched in black. There is a border of interlinking bands forming double and single links and a gold palmette with a blue field in the outer margin of each page.

The binding is of brown leather, with a central medallion, corner-pieces and a strapwork border, and seems to be 13th-century, although the original leather covers have been attached to new boards. It was probably done in Germany in the 19th century, when the manuscript belonged to A. Brölemann, whose book-plate appears on the front doublure.

1. For ADD.MS.7214, see Pope & Ackerman 1938–9, p.1946, pls926 and 928; Rice 1955, p.31, pl.XIII; and Lings & Safadi 1976, cat.no.54.
2. Rice 1955, pp.24–5, pl.XIV,a,b,g.
3. Pope & Ackerman 1938–9, p.1946; and Rice 1955, p.25, pl.XIV,c–f.
4. Rice 1955.
5. British Library, OR.MS.13,002, and Museum of Turkish & Islamic Arts, MS.449.
6. British Library, ADD.MS.7214.
7. Chester Beatty Library, MS.1430.
8. Chester Beatty Library, MS.1431.
9. Rice 1955, pls III–IV.

*1 folios 1b–2a

*1 folio 1a

الموقدة التي تطلع على الأفئدة إنها عليهم مؤصدة في عمد ممددة

سورة الفيل خمس آيات

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ألم تر كيف فعل ربك بأصحاب الفيل ألم يجعل كيدهم في تضليل
وأرسل عليهم طيرا أبابيل ترميهم بحجارة من سجيل فجعلهم كعصف مأكول

سورة قريش أربع آيات

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

لإيلاف قريش إيلافهم رحلة الشتاء والصيف فليعبدوا رب
هذا البيت الذي أطعمهم من جوع وآمنهم من خوف

سورة الماعون ست آيات

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أرأيت الذي يكذب بالدين فذلك الذي يدع اليتيم ولا يحض على
طعام المسكين فويل للمصلين الذين هم عن صلاتهم ساهون
الذين هم يراؤون ويمنعون الماعون

سورة الكوثر ثلاث آيات

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

إنا أعطيناك الكوثر فصل لربك وانحر إن شانئك هو الأبتر

سورة الكافرون ست آيات

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

قل يا أيها الكافرون لا أعبد ما تعبدون ولا أنتم عابدون ما أعبد
ولا أنا عابد ما عبدتم ولا أنتم عابدون ما أعبد لكم دينكم ولي دين

سورة النصر ثلاث آيات

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

إذا جاء نصر الله والفتح ورأيت الناس يدخلون في دين
الله أفواجا فسبح بحمد ربك واستغفره إنه كان توابا

سورة تبت خمس آيات

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

تبت يدا أبي لهب وتب ما أغنى عنه ماله وما كسب سيصلى
نارا ذات لهب وامرأته حمالة الحطب في جيدها حبل من مسد

سورة الصمد أربع آيات

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

قل هو الله أحد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا أحد

*1 folios 199b–200a

رزقا للعباد وأحيينا به بلدة ميتا كذلك الخروج كذبت قبلهم
قوم نوح وعاد وفرعون وإخوان لوط وأصحاب الأيكة وقوم
تبع كل كذب الرسل فحق وعيد أفعيينا بالخلق الأول بل هم
في لبس من خلق جديد ولقد خلقنا الإنسان ونعلم ما توسوس
به نفسه ونحن أقرب إليه من حبل الوريد إذ يتلقى المتلقيان عن
اليمين وعن الشمال قعيد ما يلفظ من قول إلا لديه رقيب عتيد
وجاءت سكرة الموت بالحق ذلك ما كنت منه تحيد ونفخ
في الصور ذلك يوم الوعيد وجاءت كل نفس معها سائق
وشهيد لقد كنت في غفلة من هذا فكشفنا عنك غطاءك
فبصرك اليوم حديد وقال قرينه هذا ما لدي عتيد ألقيا في جهنم
كل كفار عنيد مناع للخير معتد مريب الذي جعل مع الله
إلها آخر فألقياه في العذاب الشديد قال قرينه ربنا ما أطغيته
ولكن كان في ضلال بعيد قال لا تختصموا لدي وقد قدمت
إليكم بالوعيد ما يبدل القول لدي وما أنا بظلام للعبيد يوم
نقول لجهنم هل امتلأت وتقول هل من مزيد وأزلفت الجنة
للمتقين غير بعيد هذا ما توعدون لكل أواب حفيظ من خشي
الرحمن بالغيب وجاء بقلب منيب ادخلوها بسلام ذلك يوم الخلود
لهم ما يشاؤون فيها ولدينا مزيد وكم أهلكنا قبلهم من قرن
هم أشد منهم بطشا فنقبوا في البلاد هل من محيص إن في ذلك
لذكرى لمن كان له قلب أو ألقى السمع وهو شهيد ولقد خلقنا

واصحب الرس وثمود

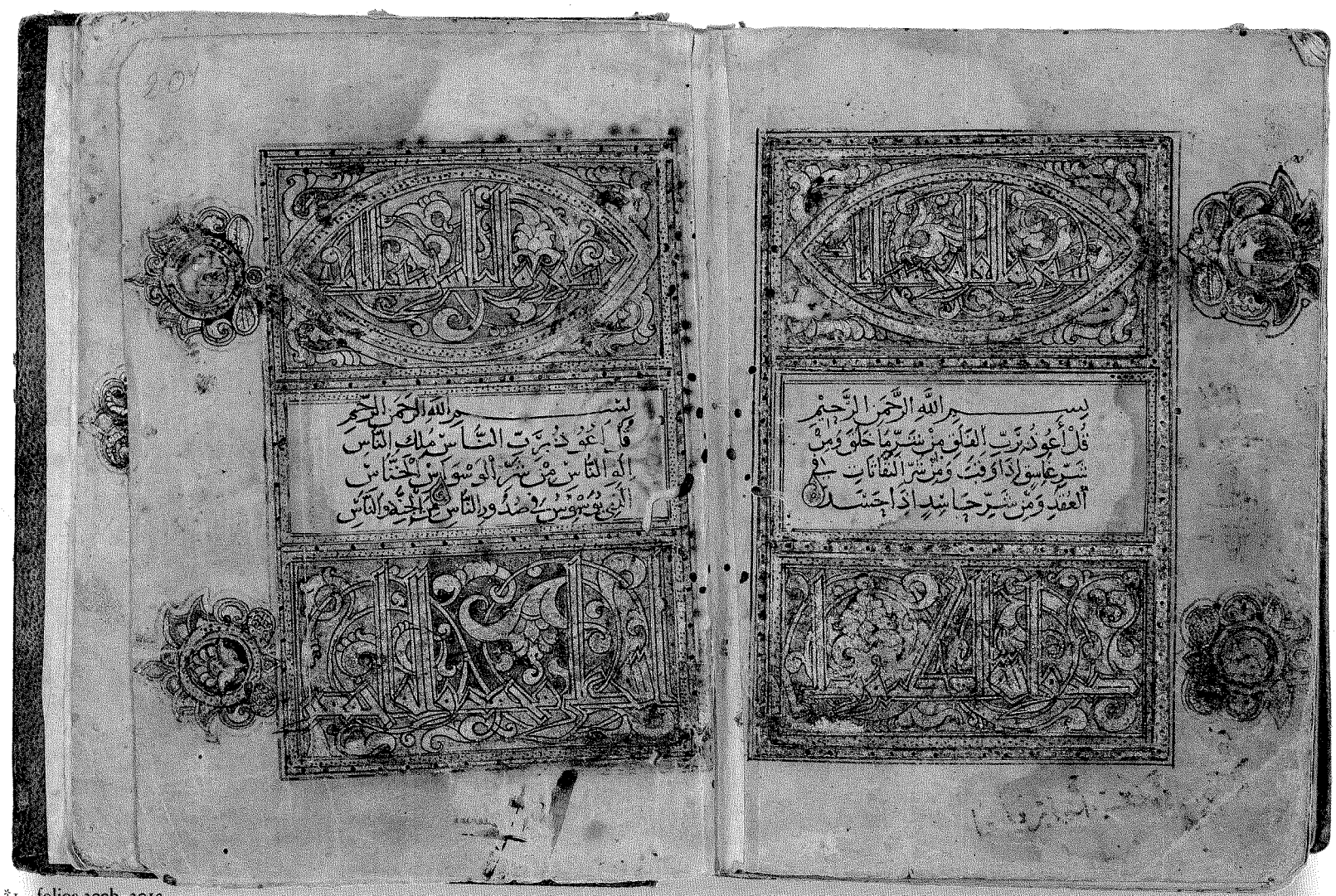
السماوات والأرض وما بينهما في ستة أيام وما مسنا من لغوب
فاصبر على ما يقولون وسبح بحمد ربك قبل طلوع الشمس وقبل
الغروب ومن الليل فسبحه وأدبار السجود واستمع يوم
ينادي المنادي من مكان قريب يوم يسمعون الصيحة بالحق
ذلك يوم الخروج إنا نحن نحيي ونميت وإلينا المصير يوم تشقق
الأرض عنهم سراعا ذلك حشر علينا يسير نحن أعلم بما يقولون
وما أنت عليهم بجبار فذكر بالقرآن من يخاف وعيد

سورة الذاريات ستون آية

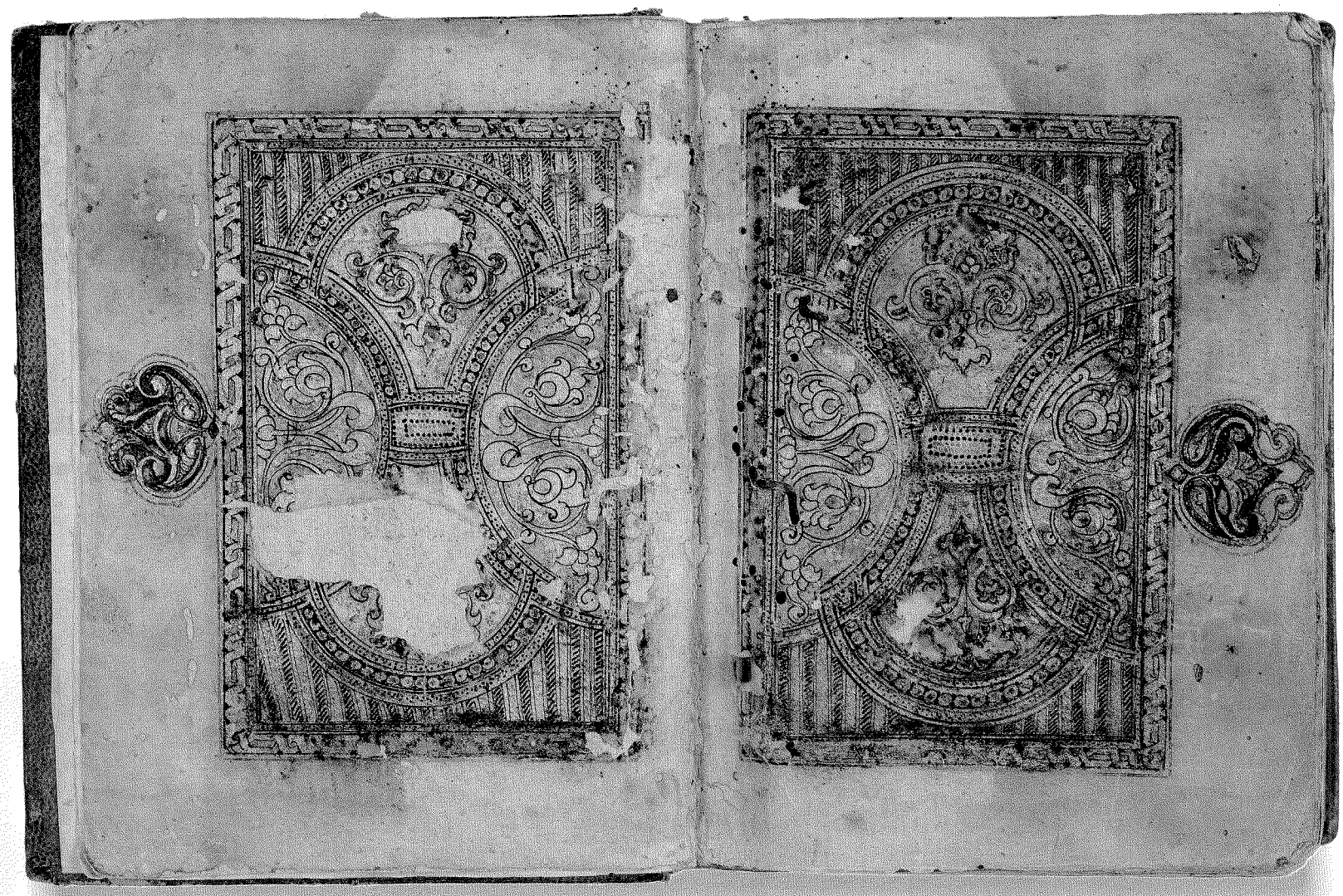
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

والذاريات ذروا فالحاملات وقرا فالجاريات يسرا فالمقسمات
أمرا إن ما توعدون لصادق وإن الدين لواقع والسماء ذات
الحبك إنكم لفي قول مختلف يؤفك عنه من أفك قتل الخراصون
الذين هم في غمرة ساهون يسألون أيان يوم الدين يوم هم على
النار يفتنون ذوقوا فتنتكم هذا الذي كنتم به تستعجلون إن
المتقين في جنات وعيون آخذين ما آتاهم ربهم إنهم كانوا قبل
ذلك محسنين كانوا قليلا من الليل ما يهجعون وبالأسحار هم
يستغفرون وفي أموالهم حق للسائل والمحروم وفي الأرض
آيات للموقنين وفي أنفسكم أفلا تبصرون وفي السماء رزقكم
وما توعدون فورب السماء والأرض إنه لحق مثل ما أنكم تنطقون

*1 folios 169–170a



*1 folios 200b–201a



*1 folios 201b–202a

2

Single-volume Qur'an

Iraq or Iran, *circa* AD 1050–1150

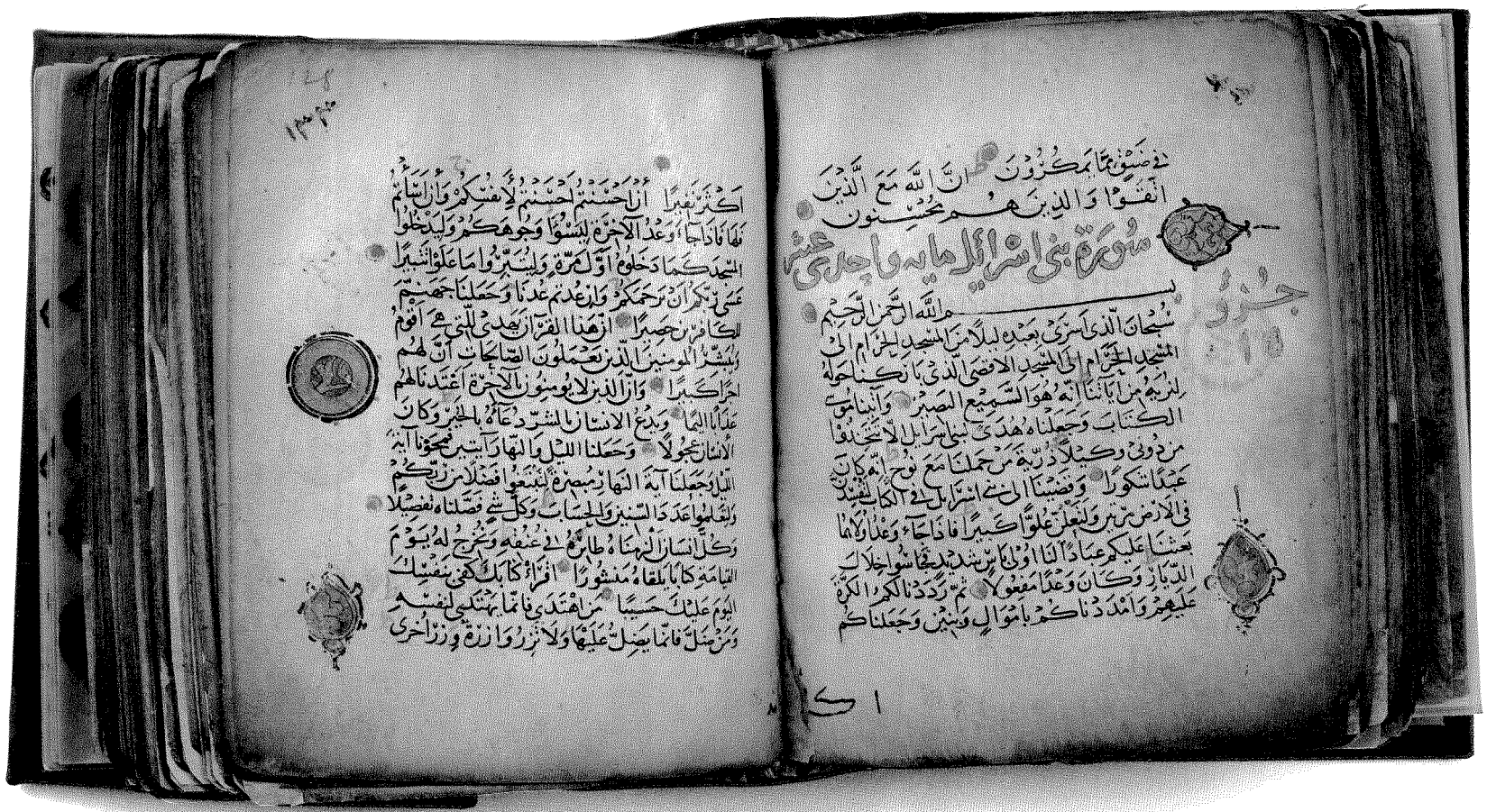
298 folios, 12.5 × 10.4 cm, with 15 lines to the page
Material Vellum, discoloured to yellow and brown at the edges
Text area 8 × 6.3 cm
Interlinear spacing 0.6 cm
Script The main text in naskh, incidentals in thulth and Kufic
Binding A modern facsimile
Accession no. QUR86
Comparative items Istanbul University Library, MS. A6778; and Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1434.[1] Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1431.[2] London, British Library, ADD. MS. 7214 and OR. MS. 13,002; Istanbul, Museum of Turkish & Islamic Arts, MS. 449; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MSS 1430.[3] Istanbul, Museum of Turkish & Islamic Arts, MS. 76; and cat. 5

This manuscript's most striking feature is that it is written on vellum rather than paper. The earliest known Qur'an on paper is dated AH 361/AD 972,[4] while the earliest Qur'an written in *naskh* on paper is the Qur'an of Ibn al-Bawwab, copied some 30 years later.[5] In the 11th century paper came to be used almost universally for writing Qur'ans in the Eastern Islamic world, and Qur'ans copied on vellum after AD 1000 are extremely rare. Another notable example is a fragmentary cursive Qur'an on vellum with a *waqfiyyah* that appears to be contemporary; this is in the name of Nur al-Din Mahmud, the Zangid ruler of Damascus from 1146 to 1174.[6]

The opening and closing pages of the manuscript are missing, and any clue to its place of origin has been lost with them. The missing pages have been replaced by facsimile folios. The original text was written by a scribe of some competence, for no guide lines are detectable. Surah headings are in gold *thulth*. Individual verses are punctuated by gold circles outlined in red, while groups of five verses are marked in the margin by lozenges with palmettes, and groups of ten verses by circles containing the word *'ashar* ('ten') in Kufic.

The hand used in this manuscript is considerably more cursive than other 11th-century examples of *naskh*. It lacks the angular quality that marks the script of the Qur'an copied by Ibn al-Bawwab at the beginning of the century or the small *naskh* hand of cat. 5, which suggests a date towards the end of the 11th century.

1. See Karatay 1951, p. 3, cat.no. 8 and pl. v; and Arberry 1967, cat.no. 35.
2. Rice 1955.
3. See cat. 1 above.
4. Divided between Istanbul University Library, MS. A6778, and Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1434.
5. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1431.
6. Istanbul, Museum of Turkish & Islamic Arts, MS. 76



2 folios 127b–128a

2 folios 218b–219a

3
Bifolio

Perhaps Syria, 12th century AD

Both folios 28 × 18.5 cm, with
19 lines to the page
Text area 22 × 14.6 cm
Interlinear spacing 1.2 cm
Material A deep buff paper, laid,
with 5–6 lines to the centimetre
Script Thulth
Accession no. QUR589

The text is *Sūrat al-baqarah* (II), verses 120–161. The script is a rare gold *thulth* outlined in black with blue, green and brown vocalization. The lines of script are cramped together and overlap in a way which is most unusual for a manuscript. The overall effect is reminiscent of inscriptions on stone. Verses are punctuated by gold rosettes, and groups of ten verses are marked by marginal medallions.

4
Fragment of Part 18 of a 60-part Qur'an

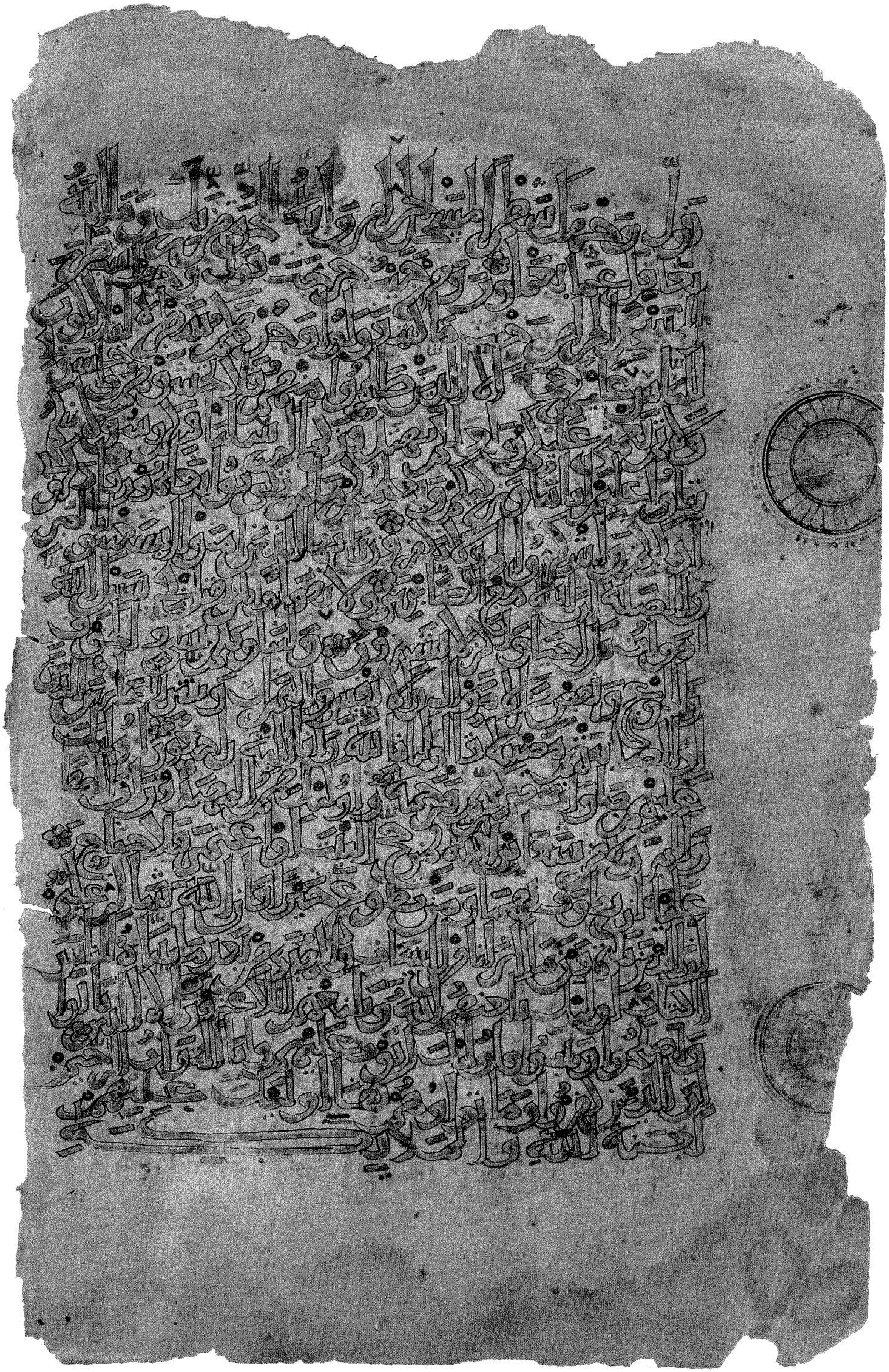
Probably eastern Iran, 12th century AD

36 folios, 15.7 × 10.4 cm, with
4 lines to the page
Material A dark cream, unpolished
paper, laid, with 6–7 lines to
the centimetre
Text area 11.1 × 6.5 cm
Interlinear spacing 2.6 cm
Script The main text in thulth,
incidentals in thulth and Kufic
Binding Iran, 13th century AD
Accession no. QUR186
Published Grube [1972], cat.no. 14

Although incomplete, the manuscript contains a large portion of a *ḥizb* (sixtieth part) of the Qur'an. The *ḥizb* in question is the eighteenth, and the surviving text runs from *Sūrat al-aʿrāf* (VII), verse 192, to *Sūrat al-anfāl* (VIII), verse 40. The presentation of the text is unusual both because of the script used – alternate lines of gold and black *thulth* – and because of the four-line format. The gold lettering is outlined in black and has red vocalization. The *thulth* hand has a number of consistent idiosyncrasies. The verticals are long and narrow, tapering at the base and swelling at the tip, and they lack any *tarwīsah* after the manner of *thulth* of the 12th and 13th centuries from eastern Iran or northern India.[1] Verses are punctuated by gold rosettes with red and blue dots. There is a circular medallion in the margin to indicate each group of ten verses, and groups of five verses are marked by a gold letter *hā'*. Each page is surrounded by a wide gold border with a simple undulating scroll motif. The final surviving folio states that the eighteenth *ḥizb* is followed by the nineteenth.

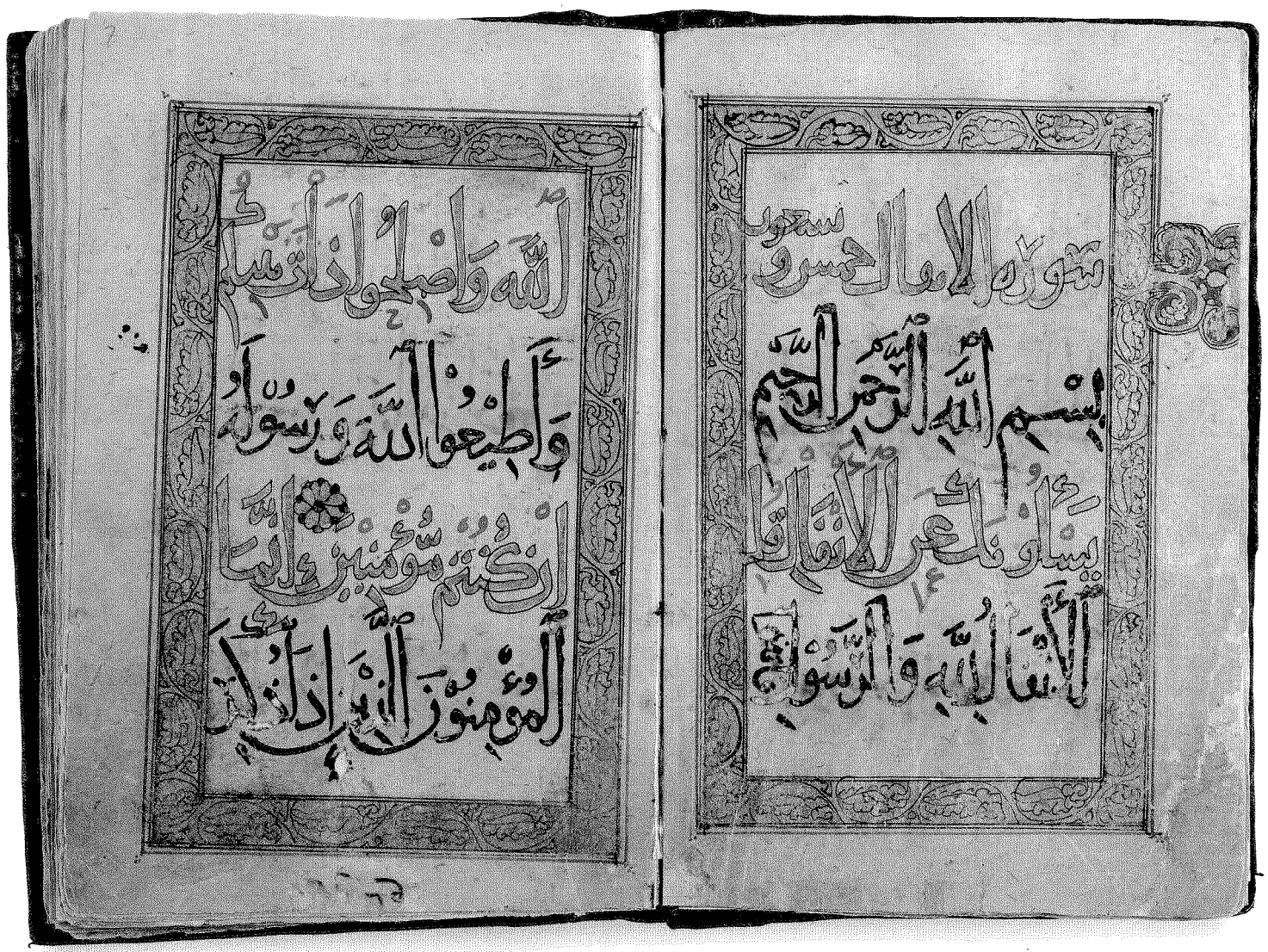
The central field of the leather binding is filled with a strapwork pattern and surrounded by a chain-link border; it contains a cartouche that interlocks with a square. Although the binding fits the manuscript exactly, the text-block has been trimmed, which suggests that the binding is later. It is probably 13th century, although it is difficult to say where it was made. Grube noted the similarity of the binding to one in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek.[2]

1. The *tarwīsah* is the short downward stroke on the combination of *alif* and *lām* that forms the Arabic definite article.
2. Weisweiler 1962, cat.no. 133.

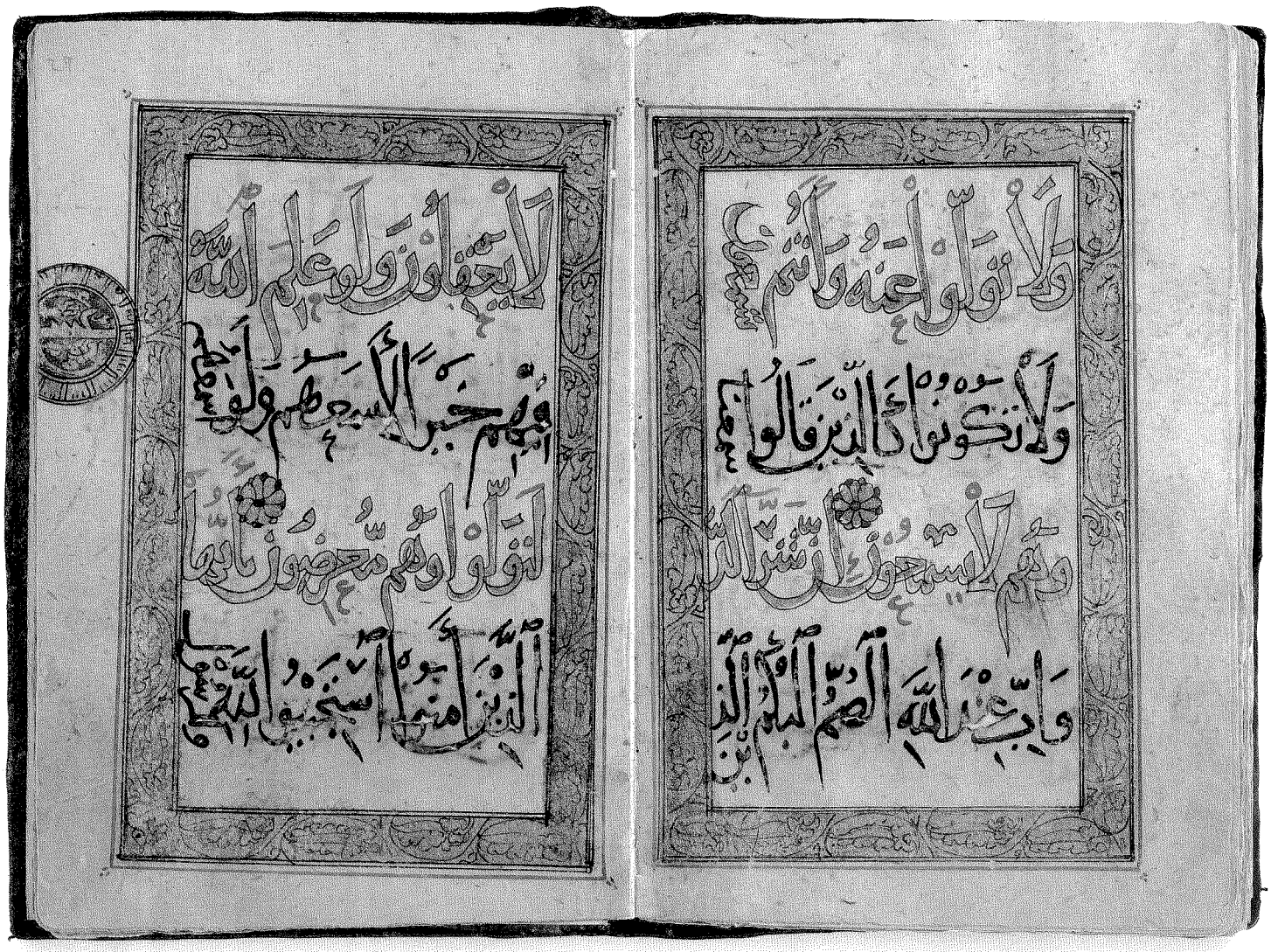


*3 folio 2b

4 outer cover



4 folios 6b–7a



4 folios 28b–29a

5

Part 8 of a 30-part Qur'an

North-west Iran, *circa* AD 1175–1225

92 folios, 39.2×32.4cm, with 3 lines to the page
Material A cream, well-polished paper, laid, with 5–6 lines to the centimetre
Text area 25.6×19cm
Interlinear spacing 10cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in Kufic and naskh
Binding Probably a 19th-century facsimile
Accession no. QUR87
Comparative items Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1487 and a manuscript in the National Library, Tehran contain other parts of the same Qur'an.[1] Compare also Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. suppl. pers. 1610.[2]

The style of illumination of this Qur'an suggests that it dates from the late 12th or early 13th century. The first two pages of the text (folios 1b–2a) each bear two lines written over a scroll and treble-dot motif and surrounded by an s-link chain border with highlights in red, blue, black and gold. Above are gold panels containing Kufic inscriptions giving the section numbers in thirtieths and sixtieths against a background of gold scrolls. At the end of each panel is a square of gold knotwork. In slightly later Anatolian and Ilkhanid Qur'ans, strapwork squares are found in this position.[3] The bottom and side panels are made of knotted chains, a design characteristic of some late 12th-century Iranian manuscripts.[4] Verse counts and other statistical information are given in gold *naskh* written in boxes in the margins of these and other pages. Unusually, the verse count is that of Basrah.

The text is in black and is vocalized in gold throughout, with other orthographic signs in blue. Verses are punctuated by circles giving the number in Kufic script. Groups of five and ten verses are indicated by coloured medallions. The text is arranged in an unusual three-line format, and the script is a large but noticeably slender *muḥaqqaq*. The calligrapher often extends the final strokes of certain letters back across the page into the right-hand margin and allows a final *mīm* to trail down the left-hand margin. All of these features are characteristic of a group of Qur'ans of the 13th and 14th centuries that are probably Anatolian in origin, but the same features also occur in a Qur'an copied between 1220 and 1225 for the library of a minister of one of the *atabeg* rulers of north-west Iran.[5]

The cover is made of brown leather that looks relatively recent and probably dates from no earlier than the 19th century. The decoration in blind tooling seems to be an imitation of an early binding and could be a copy of a damaged original. The main feature is a central roundel containing six interlocking circles that frame an inner circle with radiating lines. Each circle consists of two gold lines enclosing circular tools in the form of rosettes. There are corner-pieces, and triangular motifs with diamond tips project from the upper and lower borders; these last occur in bindings down to the 13th century but tend to disappear after that date. The decoration differs in detail from that on the binding of the section from the same Qur'an in the Chester Beatty Library, but such variation in the bindings of a 30-part Qur'an is not unusual. The best known example is the series of bindings made by 'Abd al-Rahman for a 30-part Qur'an copied in Baghdad in the first decade of the 14th century by Ibn al-Suhrawardi.[6]

1. For the Dublin manuscript, see Arberry 1967, cat.no. 67. The Tehran manuscript has not been published but was examined briefly by me in 1978.
2. London 1976, cat.no. 514; Paris 1987, pp. 64–5.
3. James 1988, cat.no. 44
4. See Bahrami 1949, cat.no. 52 and fig. 24, for example.
5. Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. suppl. pers. 1610.
6. Ettinghausen 1954, figs 348 and 350.

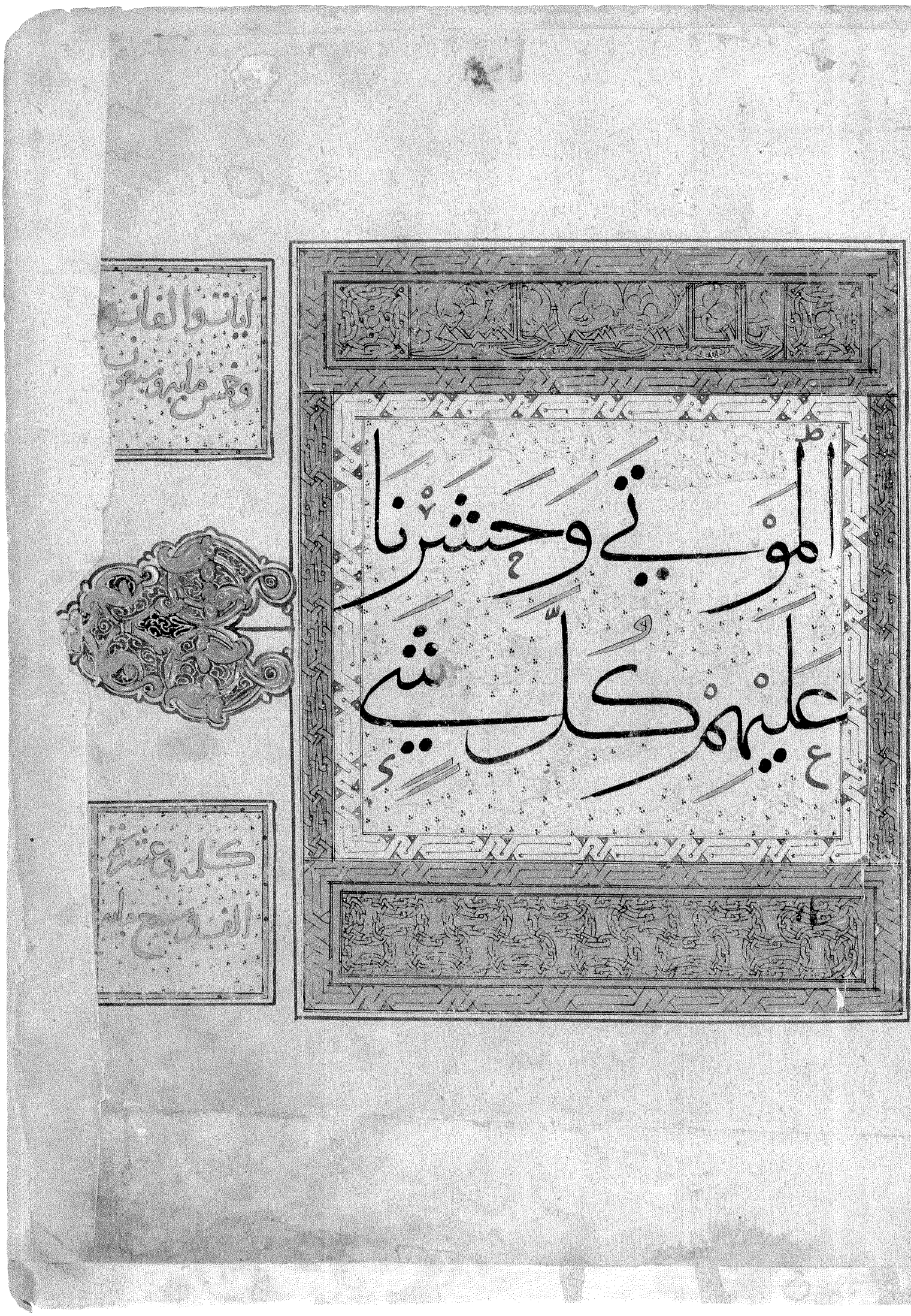
وكذلك جعلنا

لكل نبي عدوا

شياطين الانس والجن

وجميع ما في القرآن من حروف الهجاء

خمسة الف وسبع مائة وسبع وسبعون حرفا



5 folios 1b–2a

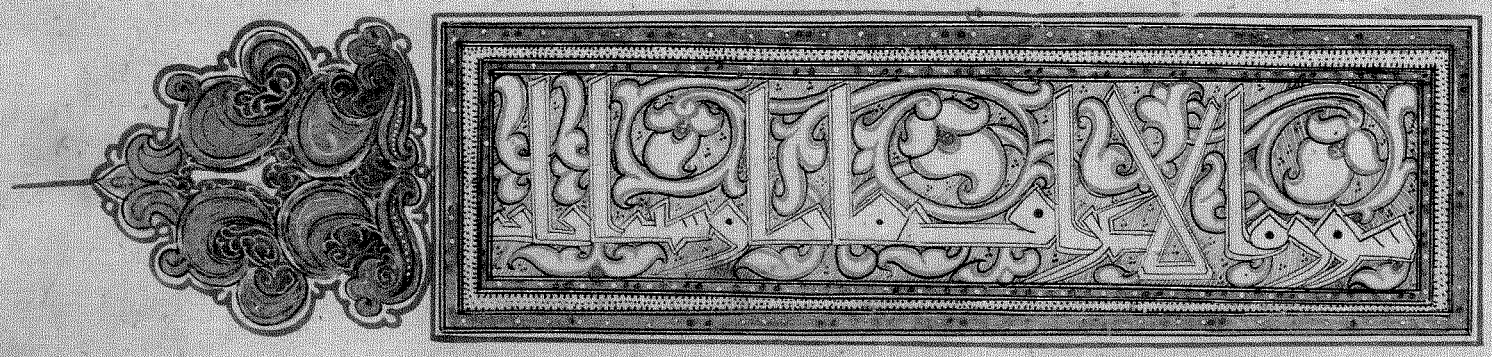
ز الثامن
ن الثلثين

وَلَوْ أَنَّنَا نَزَّلْنَا إِلَيْهِمُ الْمَلَائِكَةَ وَكَلَّمَهُمُ

وعدد حروفها
ثرون الف

ربك سريع العقاب

وإنه لغفور رحيم



5 folios 37b–38a

الأرض ورفع بعضكم

فوق بعض درجات

ليبلوكم فيما آتيكم إن

6

Single-volume Qur'an

Iraq or Iran, AH 582/AD 1186

214 folios, 30.6 × 18.6 cm, with 16 lines to the page
Material A buff, lightly polished paper with occasional triple chain lines, laid, with 5–6 lines to the centimetre
Text area 20.5 × 11.5 cm
Interlinear spacing 1.4 cm
Script Naskh
Scribe . . . 'Ali ibn Husayn ibn Ahmad ibn Husayn. . .
Documentation An undated colophon giving the name of the scribe; a notice recording the addition of the alternative readings on 5 Jumada II AH 582/23 August AD 1186; an anonymous colophon recording the completion of the preparation of the manuscript on 17 Ramadan AH 582/1 December AD 1186; and a reading notice dated AH 601/AD 1205
Binding A modern facsimile
Accession no. QUR 572
Comparative item Philadelphia, University Museum, MS. N.E.-P.27.[1]

1 . Ettinghausen 1935; London 1976, cat.no. 508.
2 . The word seems to be either *taṣḥīfihi* or *muṣḥafihi*, but neither makes sense. *Taṣḥīf* means 'misreading', and *muṣḥaf* 'a volume containing the Qur'anic text'. The latter is acceptable, but the wording would be unusual. A pencilled note in Persian on folio 200a gives *ṣaḥḥāfī kardan* ('to bind a book'), but this must be an attempt to rationalize the Arabic word.

Besides the text of the Qur'an, this manuscript also contains a veritable compendium of the science of *qirā'ah*, which is concerned with the recitation, punctuation and vocalization of the Qur'anic text. Presumably made for a scholar and perhaps used for teaching purposes in a mosque or madrasah, it is unusual in being annotated throughout with all ten authorized series of variant readings, both the seven recognized by Ibn Mujahid of Baghdad (*d* 936) and the three approved subsequently. A preface lists the ten series of variants and their transmitters together with the letters used to indicate them in the margins of the text. The marginal notes referring to the different readings are written in different colours to distinguish them.

The opening pages of the Qur'anic text (folios 3b–4a) lack the headings to the first two surahs but have decorated panels above and below. These bear *Sūrat al-wāqi'ah* (LVI), verses 77–80, written in white *naskh* on gold clouds against a gold background decorated with fragmentary arabesques. All the panels are surrounded with interlace. There are gold palmettes at the ends of the upper panels and medallions at the ends of the lower panels. Surah headings were written within decorative panels; where the heading was too short to fill the panel, the gaps were filled with interlace. There is usually a gold palmette in the margin beside each heading. The text is written in an unusual 16-line format. The script is a very free *naskh* with deep sublinear curves. There is a red circle with an upward stroke over the last letter of each verse, and the verse break is further indicated by a space. Groups of ten verses are marked by a larger figure in the same position and a circle in the margin with a border of dots with hair-line strokes.

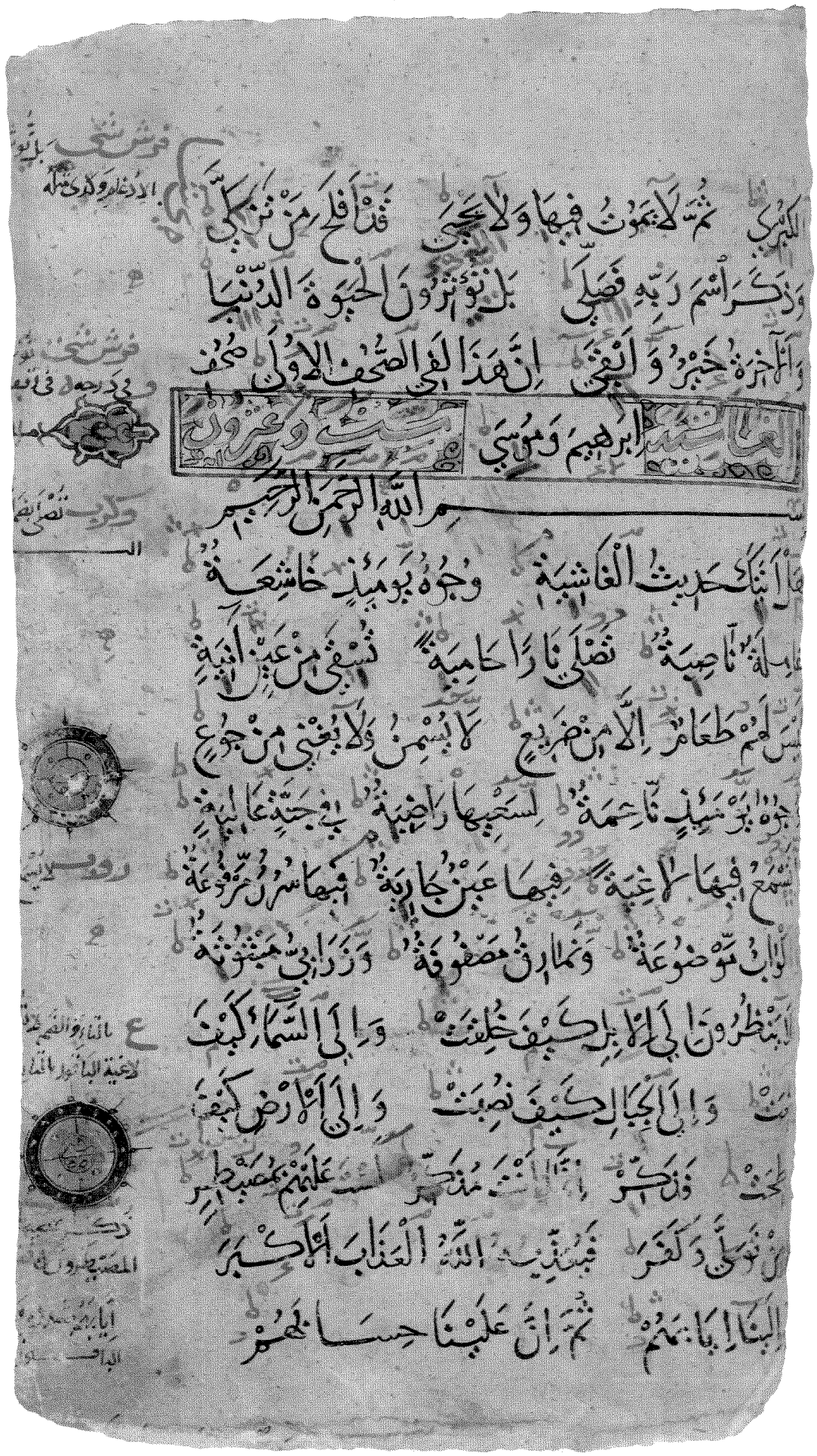
The main text is followed on folios 200b–214b by a series of appendices on Qur'an recitation and related matters. These give the names for the Qur'an mentioned in the text; the virtues of the seven standard readings; the points in the text where stopping is obligatory; the number of verses in *Sūrat al-fātiḥah* (I) and in *Sūrat al-baqarah* (II); a list of the ten Qur'an-reciters who established the authorized readings and of the reciters who transmitted them subsequently; brief biographical information on the ten reciters and their successors; discussions of the assimilation of letters during recitation, on the pronunciation of *hamzah*, on the pronunciation of *a* as *e* in certain circumstances (*imālah*) and on velarization (*tafkhīm*); variant readings of *Sūrat al-fātiḥah* and of *Sūrat al-baqarah* ; a discussion of the extension of long vowels (*madd*); the regional differences in counting the verses; the numbers of letters in the Qur'an; the order in which the surahs were revealed; and the collection of the Qur'anic text.

The colophon appears in a panel on folio 199b; it is damaged, but what remains of the text says that a single person (whose name is missing) was responsible for the correction of the text, its illumination and perhaps the binding, though the latter term is unclear.[2] Beneath this is another colophon in Persian, which has been painted out. This

6 folios 199b–200a

appears to be by . . . 'Ali ibn Husayn ibn Ahmad ibn Husayn . . ., who states quite forcefully that the manuscript is the property of his son Muhammad and that no other son has any right to it! The strange nature of this inscription probably led to its obliteration by the illuminator.

On folio 200a there is a note by Abu 'Abdallah al-Husayn ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Mihran al-Muqri' al-Marqi, who appears to have been the person responsible for adding the variant readings to the text. These were added in Jumada II AH 582/August AD 1186, while the illumination was completed in Ramadan/November of the same year. On the same page a later reader, Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Imami, recorded examining the manuscript in Sha'ban AD 601/April AD 1205. There are also a two-line prayer and two modern pencil notations. One, in Persian, contains remarks on the dates of the completion and illumination of the manuscript, and the other is a transcription of the illuminator's colophon. Several pages are missing; others have been replaced; and the appendices have been bound in disorder.


الكبرى ثم لا يموت فيها ولا يحيى قد افلح من تزكى
وذكر اسم ربه فصلى بل تؤثرون الحيوة الدنيا
والآخرة خير وابقى ان هذا لفي الصحف الاولى صحف
العاشرة ابرهيم وموسى ست وعشرون
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
هل اتيك حديث الغاشية وجوه يومئذ خاشعة
عاملة ناصبة تصلى نارا حامية تسقى من عين انية
ليس لهم طعام الا من ضريع لا يسمن ولا يغني من جوع
وجوه يومئذ ناعمة لسعيها راضية في جنة عالية
لا تسمع فيها لاغية فيها عين جارية فيها سرر مرفوعة
واكواب موضوعة ونمارق مصفوفة وزرابي مبثوثة
افلا ينظرون الى الابل كيف خلقت والى السماء كيف رفعت
والى الجبال كيف نصبت والى الارض كيف سطحت
فذكر انما انت مذكر لست عليهم بمصيطر
الا من تولى وكفر فيعذبه الله العذاب الاكبر
ان الينا ايابهم ثم ان علينا حسابهم

*6 folio 194a

*6 folio 3b

7
Part 28 of a 30-part Qur'an

Sinjar or Nisibin, AD 1198–1219

50 folios, 22 × 15.6 cm, with 5 lines to the page
Material A cream, well-polished paper, laid, with 6–7 lines to the centimetre; chain lines are visible 2 cm apart, and rib shadows 8 cm apart
Text area 15.3 × 9.6 cm
Interlinear spacing 3.4 cm
Script The main text in thulth, incidentals in Kufic
Patron Qutb al-Din Muhammad ibn Zangi ibn Mawdud, ruler of Sinjar and Nisibin
Documentation A certificate of commissioning
Binding None
Accession no. QUR497
Published Sotheby's 1989, lot no. 184
Comparative items Part 1 of the same Qur'an is Bursa, Archaeological Museum, MS. K19;[1] Part 5 is Kuwait, Homayzi Collection, MS. 1/442;[2] Part 12 is Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1448;[3] and Part 26 is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. arab. 5949.[4]

1. Unpublished.
2. Sotheby's, 1981, lot no. 271; and Louisiana 1987, cat.no. 61.
3. Martin 1912, pl. 237; Arberry 1967, cat.no. 53; and James 1980, cat.no. 22.
4. Déroche 1985, cat.no. 525; and Paris 1987, cat.no. 31.
5. In some Qur'an sections the division of the text is given in sixtieths. Within the sections, divisions into 150ths are also given. It is not clear what the word 'fifth' refers to here.
6. London, British Library, ADD. MSS 22,406–22, 413; see James 1988, cat.no. 1.

The modest size of this manuscript contrasts with the lavish use of gold in both the text and the decoration. It is preceded by the remains of the original certificate of commissioning in gold *naskh* (folio 1a) and a finely illuminated double frontispiece (folios 1b–2a). Each page of the frontispiece contains two pairs of lobed squares set on their corners and connected by a pair of pointed oval figures. Small circles attach the pointed ovals to the strapwork border. The intervening fields are filled with palmette and scroll motifs or geometric patterns, and there is a circular hasp device in the two outer margins. The lobed squares contain an inscription that states that this is the beginning of Part 28 of 30 parts and the end of the 'fifth section'.[5]

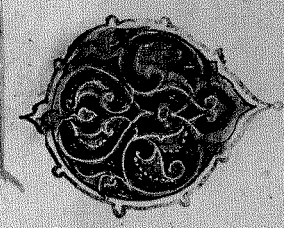
The two opening pages of text are surrounded by a simple gold-ruled border with a small square giving the surah title and the verse count in the outer margins. The text itself is in gold outlined in black, and the vocalization and other orthographic signs are also in gold. Each verse is marked by a gold rosette. Surah headings are in gold Kufic outlined in gold, with a gold and blue palmette in the margin. Groups of five verses are marked in the margin by a gold circle with a blue centre bearing the number in gold Kufic. Groups of ten verses are marked by gold circles enlivened with blue and bearing the number in gold Kufic on a gold ground. The final folio of the text is missing. Comparison with the other surviving sections shows that this manuscript probably concluded with a double finispiece, which is now also lost.

The initial pages of the other four surviving parts of this Qur'an are either missing or have been defaced, although it is clear that there was a certificate of commissioning at the front of Part 1, now in Bursa. As a result, the Qur'an had to be dated on stylistic grounds, and both a Mamluk and a Saljuq origin were suggested. However, the restoration work that has been carried out on Part 28 since it entered the Khalili Collection has revealed the certificate of commissioning, which had been obliterated by a layer of red paint and had then had a piece of paper stuck down over it. The paper probably bore the main part of the text of an endowment notice whose last line appears in the bottom margin of the page, just after the last line of the original text. The line reads, 'And that was in the year 617 (or 627)'. The date AH617 corresponds to AD 1220–21, while AH627 corresponds to AD 1229–30. The paper bearing the endowment notice seems to have been removed at some stage and replaced by a second piece bearing a simple design. In the process the upper right-hand quarter of the original inscription was damaged. The original inscription has now been exposed by removing the paper and the red paint. Although defaced, it is legible and records that the Qur'an was made for the library (*khizānah*) of the Zangid prince Qutb al-Din Abu'l-Muzaffar Muhammad ibn Zangi ibn Mawdud ibn Zangi ibn Aqsunqur, who succeeded his father, 'Imad al-Din Zangi ibn Mawdud, as ruler of Sinjar, Khabur and Nisibin in the Jazirah in 1198 and ruled until 1219.

Assuming that this Qur'an was produced in Sinjar, it indicates the high

خَيْرُ اللَّهْوِ وَالتِّجَارَةِ وَاللَّهُ

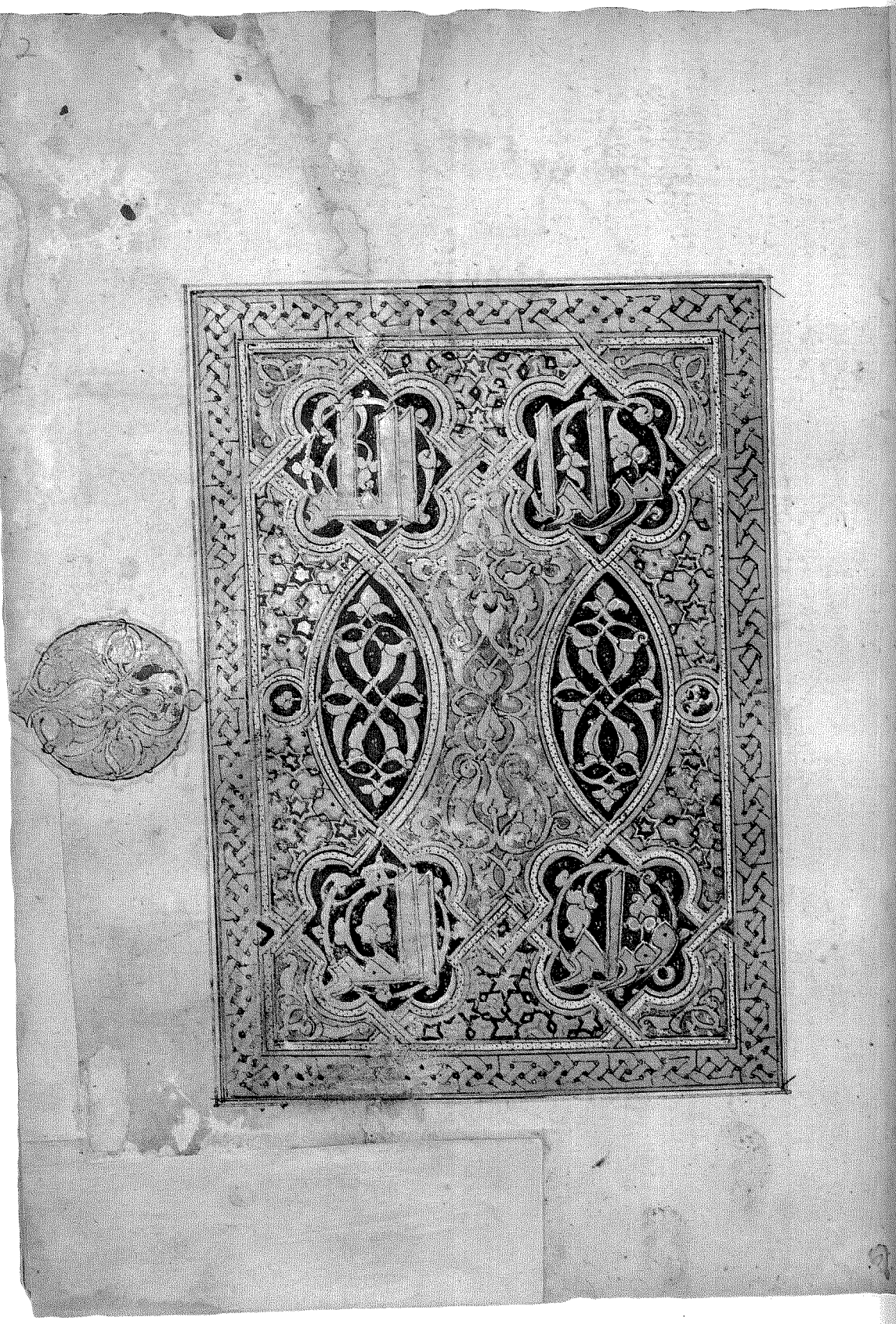
خَيْرُ الرَّازِقِينَ



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

إِذَا جَاءَكَ الْمُنَافِقُونَ قَالُوا نَشْهَدُ

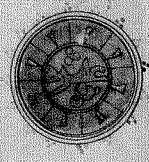
*7 folio 34b

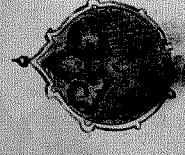


*7 folios 1b–2a

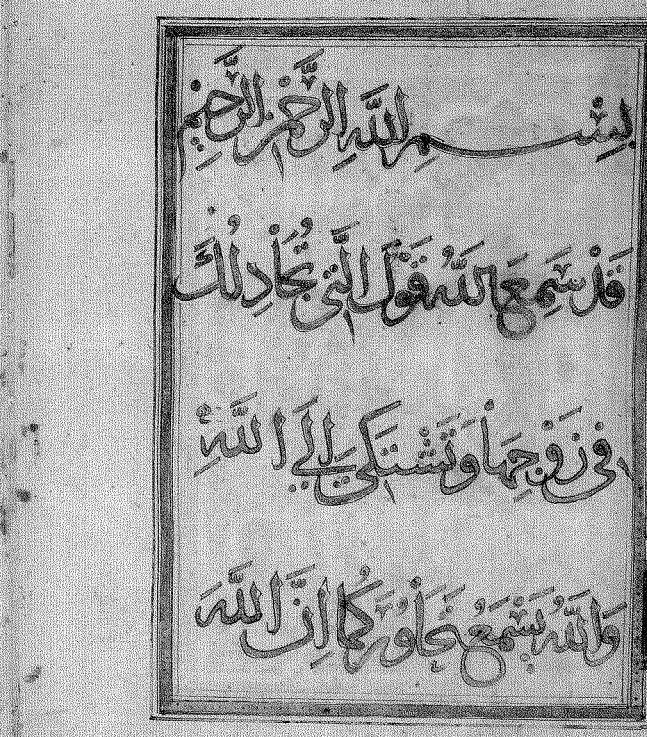
لا يعلمون يا أيها الذين آمنوا
لا تلهكم أموالكم ولا أولادكم
عن ذكر الله ومن يفعل ذلك
فأولئك هم الخاسرون وأنفقوا
مما رزقناكم من قبل أن يأتي أحدكم

الموت فيقول رب لولا أخرتني إلى
أجل قريب فأصدق وأكون من
الصالحين ولن يؤخر الله نفسا إذا
جاء أجلها والله خبير بما تعملون

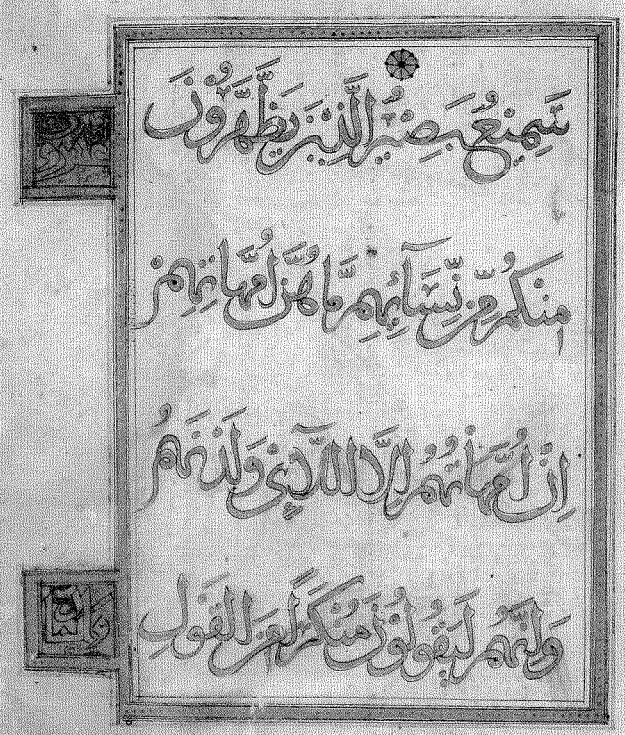




7 folios 37b–38a



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
قد سمع الله قول التي تجادلك
في زوجها وتشتكي إلى الله
والله يسمع تحاوركما إن الله



سميع بصير الذين يظاهرون
منكم من نسائهم ما هن أمهاتهم
إن أمهاتهم إلا اللائي ولدنهم
وإنهم ليقولون منكرا من القول

7 folios 2b–3a

level of sophistication that could be achieved by scribes and illuminators in a provincial city at this time. The script employed, a magnificent gold *thulth*, is most unusual in a Qur'an. The only other example known is the seven-part Qur'an copied by the Syrian calligrapher Ibn al-Wahid for the future Mamluk sultan Baybars al-Jashnikir a century later in 1304–6.[6] Under any circumstances the Sinjar Qur'an would have been considered one of the finest 13th-century Qur'ans known, but the precise nature of its dating and provenance increases its importance greatly. In the late 12th and early 13th centuries the Jazirah was one of the most fertile regions in Islamic world for architecture, minor arts and secular manuscript production, particularly illustrated manuscripts. Despite this, the Qur'an made for Qutb al-Din Muhammad is the only Qur'an known to have been made for any of the Zangid rulers of the Jazirah, let alone for the Zangids of Sinjar. The only other Zangid Qur'ans were made for the Syrian branch of the dynasty.[7]

7. Two sections of a 30-part Qur'an in the Keir Collection (MSS VII, 3–4) bear an endowment notice dated Damascus, AD 1167; see Robinson and others 1976, p. 287. A Qur'an commentary in the National Library in Cairo (MS. 507) is by the same scribe and has an identical endowment notice. A damaged Qur'an fragment in the Museum of Turkish & Islamic Arts in Istanbul (MS. 76) bears an endowment notice in the name of Nur al-Din Mahmud, the Zangid ruler of Aleppo and Damascus.

8

Two folios

Iran, *circa* AD 1250–1300

35.1 × 29.1 cm (folio 1) and 35.3 × 28.1 cm (folio 2), with 15 lines to the page
Material A thick, buff paper, laid, with 6 lines to the centimetre
Text area 29 × 21 cm
Interlinear spacing 1.9 cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in thulth and Kufic
Accession no. QUR583

The small amount of evidence provided by these two folios makes it difficult to give an exact provenance for the manuscript from which they came, but the decoration suggests that it was produced in Iran in the second half of the 13th century AD, although it may have been made earlier. The script is an impressive *muḥaqqaq*. Verses are indicated by petalled rosettes. Each fifth verse is marked by a distinctive vase-shaped ornament in the margin. Each tenth verse is indicated by a marginal roundel whose blue double border encloses a gold rosette with a red centre inscribed with the word *'ashr* ('ten') in gold Kufic. The surah heading is in gold *thulth* with red, green and blue diacriticals and vocalization and is accompanied by a medallion in the left-hand margin. Beneath the medallion, there is a second, square ornament.

نَحْنُ بِمُسْتَيْقِنِينَ ۝ وَبَدَا لَهُمْ سَيِّئَاتُ مَا عَمِلُوا وَحَاقَ بِهِمْ مَا كَانُوا
بِهِ يَسْتَهْزِءُونَ ۝ وَقِيلَ الْيَوْمَ نَنْسَاكُمْ كَمَا نَسِيتُمْ لِقَاءَ يَوْمِكُمْ هَذَا
وَمَأْوَاكُمُ النَّارُ وَمَا لَكُمْ مِنْ نَاصِرِينَ ۝ ذَلِكُمْ بِأَنَّكُمُ اتَّخَذْتُمْ آيَاتِ
اللَّهِ هُزُوًا وَغَرَّتْكُمُ الْحَيَاةُ الدُّنْيَا فَالْيَوْمَ لَا يُخْرَجُونَ مِنْهَا وَلَا هُمْ
يُسْتَعْتَبُونَ ۝ فَلِلَّهِ الْحَمْدُ رَبِّ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَرَبِّ الْأَرْضِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ
وَلَهُ الْكِبْرِيَاءُ فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ ۝

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

حٰمٓ ۝ تَنْزِيلُ الْكِتَابِ مِنَ اللَّهِ الْعَزِيزِ الْحَكِيمِ ۝ مَا خَلَقْنَا السَّمَاوَاتِ
وَالْأَرْضَ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا إِلَّا بِالْحَقِّ وَأَجَلٍ مُسَمًّى وَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا عَمَّا أُنْذِرُوا
مُعْرِضُونَ ۝ قُلْ أَرَأَيْتُمْ مَا تَدْعُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ أَرُونِي مَاذَا خَلَقُوا مِنَ
الْأَرْضِ أَمْ لَهُمْ شِرْكٌ فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ ائْتُونِي بِكِتَابٍ مِنْ قَبْلِ هَٰذَا أَوْ أَثَارَةٍ
مِنْ عِلْمٍ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ صَادِقِينَ ۝ وَمَنْ أَضَلُّ مِمَّنْ يَدْعُو مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ مَنْ
لَا يَسْتَجِيبُ لَهُ إِلَىٰ يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ وَهُمْ عَنْ دُعَائِهِمْ غَافِلُونَ ۝ وَإِذَا
حُشِرَ النَّاسُ كَانُوا لَهُمْ أَعْدَاءً وَكَانُوا بِعِبَادَتِهِمْ كَافِرِينَ ۝ وَإِذَا

وَمَنْ مَعِيَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِيْنَ ۝ فَاَنْجَيْنٰهُ وَمَنْ مَّعَهٗ فِي الْفُلْكِ الْمَشْحُوْنِ
ثُمَّ اَغْرَقْنَا بَعْدُ الْبَاقِيْنَ ۝ اِنَّ فِيْ ذٰلِكَ لَاٰيَةً ۝ وَمَا كَانَ اَكْثَرُهُمْ
مُّؤْمِنِيْنَ ۝ وَاِنَّ رَبَّكَ لَهُوَ الْعَزِيْزُ الرَّحِيْمُ ۝ كَذَّبَتْ عَادُ الْمُرْسَلِيْنَ ۝
اِذْ قَالَ لَهُمْ اَخُوْهُمْ هُوْدٌ اَلَا تَتَّقُوْنَ ۝ اِنِّيْ لَكُمْ رَسُوْلٌ اَمِيْنٌ ۝ فَاتَّقُوا اللّٰهَ
وَاَطِيْعُوْنِ ۝ وَمَا اَسْـَٔلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ اَجْرٍ ۚ اِنْ اَجْرِيَ اِلَّا عَلٰى رَبِّ
الْعٰلَمِيْنَ ۝ اَتَبْنُوْنَ بِكُلِّ رِيْعٍ اٰيَةً تَعْبَثُوْنَ ۝ وَتَتَّخِذُوْنَ مَصَانِعَ
لَعَلَّكُمْ تَخْلُدُوْنَ ۝ وَاِذَا بَطَشْتُمْ بَطَشْتُمْ جَبَّارِيْنَ ۝ فَاتَّقُوا اللّٰهَ
وَاَطِيْعُوْنِ ۝ وَاتَّقُوا الَّذِيْٓ اَمَدَّكُمْ بِمَا تَعْلَمُوْنَ ۝ اَمَدَّكُمْ بِاَنْعَامٍ
وَّبَنِيْنَ ۝ وَجَنّٰتٍ وَّعُيُوْنٍ ۝ اِنِّيْٓ اَخَافُ عَلَيْكُمْ عَذَابَ يَوْمٍ عَظِيْمٍ
قَالُوْا سَوَآءٌ عَلَيْنَآ اَوَعَظْتَ اَمْ لَمْ تَكُنْ مِّنَ الْوٰعِظِيْنَ ۝ اِنْ هٰذَآ اِلَّا
الْاَوَّلِيْنَ ۝ وَمَا نَحْنُ بِمُعَذَّبِيْنَ ۝ فَكَذَّبُوْهُ فَاَهْلَكْنٰهُمْ ۗ اِنَّ فِيْ ذٰلِكَ لَاٰيَةً ۗ
وَمَا كَانَ اَكْثَرُهُمْ مُّؤْمِنِيْنَ ۝ وَاِنَّ رَبَّكَ لَهُوَ الْعَزِيْزُ الرَّحِيْمُ ۝
كَذَّبَتْ ثَمُوْدُ الْمُرْسَلِيْنَ ۝ اِذْ قَالَ لَهُمْ اَخُوْهُمْ صٰلِحٌ اَلَا تَتَّقُوْنَ ۝ اِنِّيْ لَكُمْ
رَسُوْلٌ اَمِيْنٌ ۝ فَاتَّقُوا اللّٰهَ وَاَطِيْعُوْنِ ۝ وَمَآ اَسْـَٔلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ اَجْرٍ ۚ
اِنْ اَجْرِيَ اِلَّا عَلٰى رَبِّ الْعٰلَمِيْنَ ۝ اَتُتْرَكُوْنَ فِيْ مَا هٰهُنَآ اٰمِنِيْنَ ۝ فِيْ

جَنّٰتٍ وَّعُيُوْنٍ ۝

9

Single-volume Qur'an

Iraq or Iran, AH 634/AD 1236–7

644 folios, 47.2×35.5 cm, with 7 lines to the page
Material Two types of paper were employed. The first is a pinkish, polished paper, laid, with the lines barely visible; there appear to be 5–7 to the centimetre. The second, used for folios 7–117, is a grey, smooth, highly polished paper, laid, with 8–10 lines to the centimetre; there are regular chain lines and rib-shadows at intervals
Text area 36.5×21.6 cm
Interlinear spacing 5.5 cm
Script The main text in an unusual form of muḥaqqaq, incidentals in thulth and Kufic
Scribe Qutlugh ibn 'Abdallah
Binding A modern facsimile
Documentation A colophon
Accession no. QUR704
Comparative items James 1988, cat.no.40; Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MS.72, Part 16.[1]

1. James 1988, cat.no.45.
2. James 1988, cat.no.40.

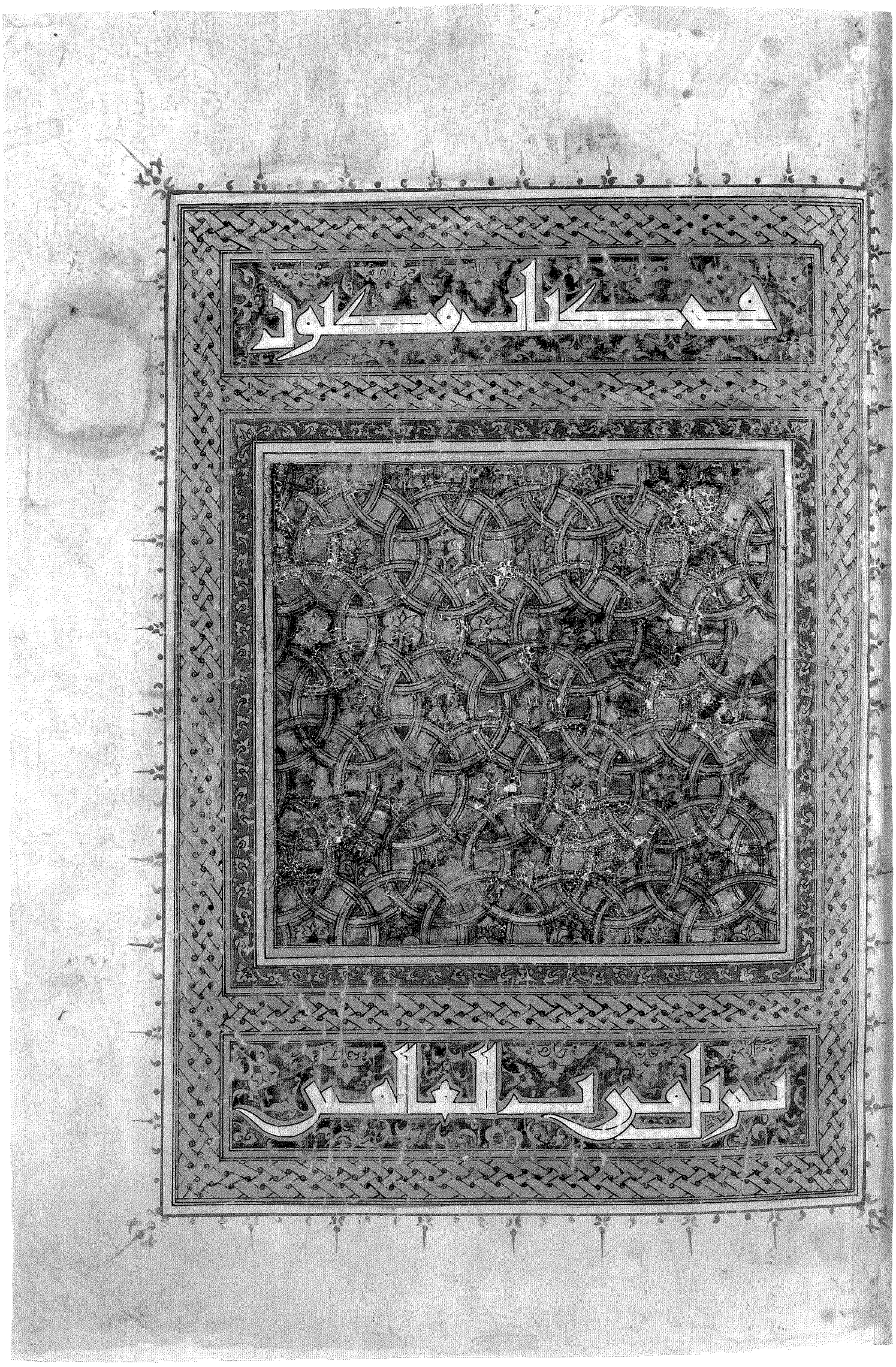
This remarkable manuscript was copied in an unusual *muḥaqqaq* in alternate lines of gold and black. The black lettering is outlined in gold, and the gold lettering in black. The entire text was first written out in black, and then every other line was gone over in gold and surrounded by a thin black line. In several places the gold has worn away to reveal the black script beneath. The vocalization, which is in black throughout, was written with a pen of a different thickness from those used for the lettering and the outlining.

In the use of alternate lines of black and gold, this manuscript prefigures the great Qur'an made in Baghdad between 1306 and about 1313 for Sultan Öljeytü.[2] Sultan Öljeytü's Qur'an was also written in an unusual hybrid script, but the two are entirely dissimilar. Cat.9 was copied in a simple hand whose many peculiarities give it an almost casual appearance. There are occasional additional ligatures; the letters *rā'* and *zā'* are barely curved; the final forms of *tā'*, *thā'* and *bā'* are often foreshortened, while the final forms of *nūn* and *yā'* are often greatly extended; and the *tā' marbūṭah* and the final form of the letter *hā'* are sometimes written as an inverted v.

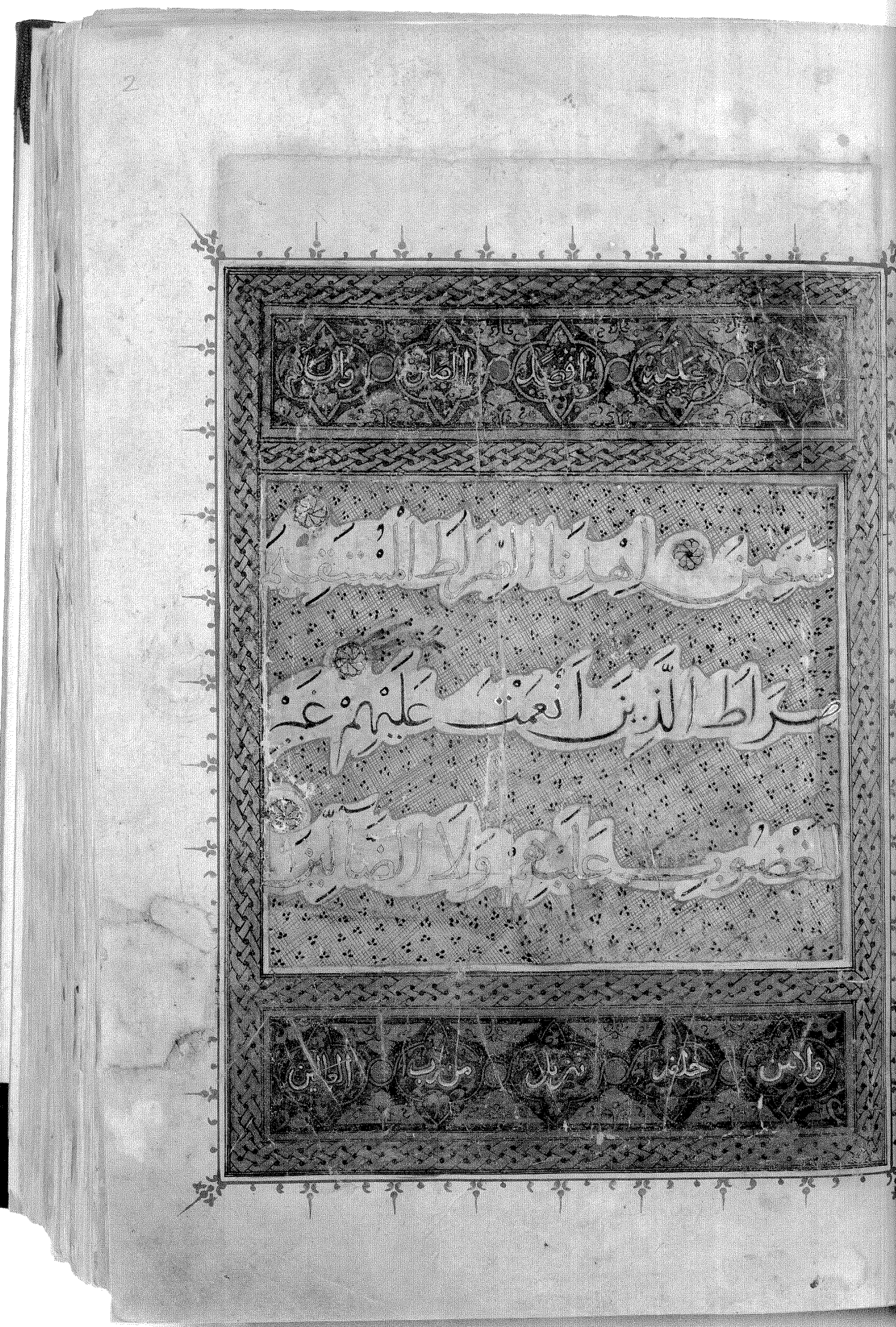
The illumination is restrained throughout. The first page bears the left-hand half of the original frontispiece, which is divided into three panels by bands of gold strapwork. The upper and lower panels contain *Sūrat al-wāqi'ah* (LVI), verses 78 and 80, written in a heavy, bold white Kufic. The central panel is filled with a design consisting of interlocking circles, which form a six-sided figure at the centre of each circle. The only other example of this design of which we are aware is the frontispiece to Part 16 of the 30-part Qur'an made for Sultan Öljeytü in Hamadan in 1313.

The opening pages of text are also divided into three panels by bands of gold strapwork. In the two central panels *Sūrat al-fātiḥah* (I) is set against a red-hatched ground scattered with treble-dot motifs which may be a later addition. The upper and lower panels contain unusual quatrefoils separated by blue discs with stylized blossoms above and below. The quatrefoils frame the words of three inscriptions; the text in the upper panels reads, 'This Qur'an was revealed to Muhammad, the best of praise and peace be upon him', while the lower panels contain Qur'anic quotations, *Sūrat fuṣṣilat* (XLI), verse 41, and *Sūrat al-wāqi'ah* (LVI), verse 80.

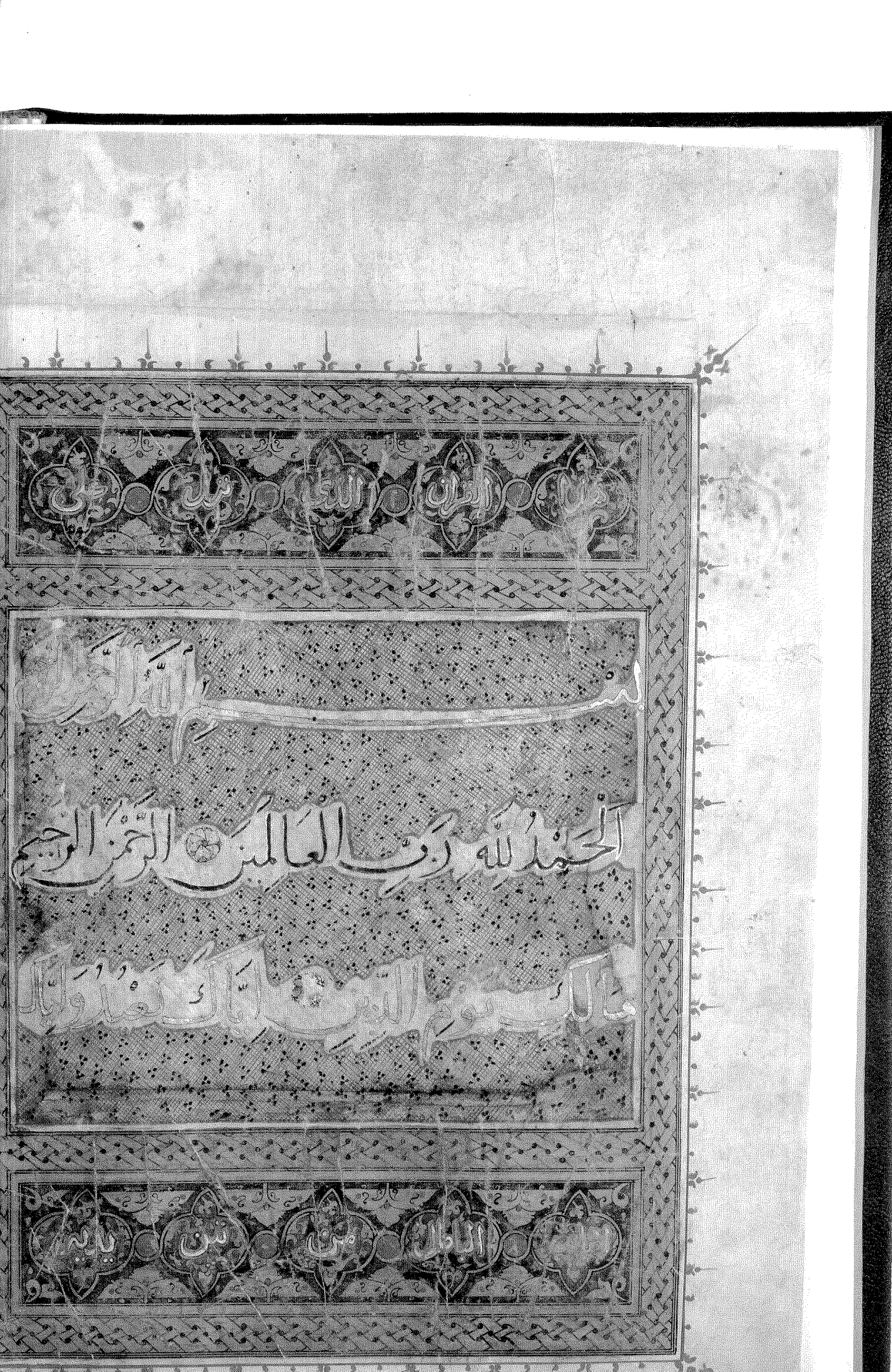
Surah headings and the accompanying verse-count are in white *thulth* within decorative panels. There is a medallion in the outer margin. Verses are punctuated by gold rosettes. Groups of five verses are marked in the margin by a pointed circular device with a floral motif. Groups of ten verses are also indicated in the margin. Up to folio 49a, the marker takes the form of a circle with a polychrome six-pointed star. Thereafter a circle containing the word *'ashar* ('ten') written in gold Kufic over a gold arabesque is used. Both types have borders of radiating hair strokes of different kinds.



9 folio 1a



9 folios 1b–2a


القرآن الكريم
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم
مالك يوم الدين إياك نعبد وإياك
الجزء الأول من ثلاثين جزءا

10

Qur'an fragment

Iran, *circa* AD 1250–1350

7 folios, 49.6×35 cm, with
9 lines to the page
Material A cream paper, laid, with
7–8 lines to the centimetre
Text area 40.6×25 cm
Interlinear spacing 4.5 cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq,
incidentals in thulth and Kufic
Accession no. QUR495
Comparative item Cat. 5

This fragment contains parts of *Sūrat al-ḥadīd* (LVII), *Sūrat al-mujādilah* (LVIII), *Sūrat al-ma'ārij* (LXX), *Sūrat Nūḥ* (LXXI) and *Sūrat al-jinn* (LXXII). Surah headings are in white *thulth* outlined in gold over gold arabesques. They are set within an oval cartouche. On either side there are gold sprays with lotus blossoms on blue. The main text is in a large, imposing script written with considerable flourish. The long, thin verticals are reminiscent of those in cat. 5, which was probably produced in north-west Iran between about 1175 and 1225. There is a red interlinear translation in Persian, and verses are marked by blue circles containing the word *āyah* ('verse') in gold Kufic.

يؤتكم كفلين من رحمته ويجعل لكم

تا بدهد شما را دو نصیب از رحمت وی و کند شما را

نورا تمشون به ويغفر لكم والله غفور

نوری تا می روید بدان و بیامرزد شما را و خدای عز و جل آمرزگار است

رحيم لئلا يعلم اهل الكتاب الا يقدرون

و بخشاینده تا بدانند اهل کتاب که ایشان قادر نه اند

على شيء من فضل الله وان الفضل بيد الله

بر هیچ چیز از فضل خدای و بدانند که فضل بید قدرت خدای است عز و جل

يؤتيه من يشاء والله ذو الفضل العظيم

آنرا دهد کسی را که خواهد و خدای خداوند فضل بزرگ است

المجادلة اربع وعشرون

جزو بیست و هشتم

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بنام خدای مهربان بخشاینده

قد سمع الله قول التي تجادلك في زوجها

خود شنود خدای عز و جل قول آن زن که خصومت می کند ترا در باب شوهر خویش

وتشتكي الى الله والله يسمع تحاوركما

و گله می کند بخدای تعالی و خداوند می شنود جواب دادن شما یکدیگر را

The Problem of Yaqut al-Musta'simi

Yaqut al-Musta'simi's full name was Abu'l-Majd Jamal al-Din Yaqut ibn 'Abdallah al-Musta'simi, and he was born in the first decade of the 13th century at Amasya in central Anatolia, a city at that time in Byzantine territory.[1] A eunuch and slave of the last Abbasid caliph of Baghdad, al-Musta'sim bi'llah, he was employed as an official secretary (*kātib al-dīwān*) and was in Baghdad during the siege and sack of the city by the Mongols in 1258.[2] He survived those momentous events to prosper under the Ilkhanid regime and died at an advanced age–though hardly the 180 years with which he is sometimes credited.

Yaqut was evidently brought to Baghdad as a youth. He was taught calligraphy by one of the leading Baghdadi masters of the day, Safi al-Din 'Abd al-Mu'min al-Urmawi, who worked first for al-Musta'sim bi'llah and then for his Mongol conqueror, Hülegü, and Hülegü's minister Ata-Malik Juvayni.[3] Yaqut became librarian of the Mustansiriyyah madrasah in Baghdad, a richly endowed foundation established by the Abbasid caliph al-Mustansir bi'llah in the early 13th century. His superior there was the historian Ibn al-Futi. After the Mongol conquest Yaqut also became the protégé of Juvayni, to whose sons and brother he taught calligraphy. Yaqut died in Baghdad and was buried near the grave of the famous jurist Ahmad ibn Hanbal. The exact date of his death is uncertain but seems to have been AH 697/AD 1298.

Yaqut was celebrated for his skill in the Six Pens, the name given to the six scripts which had become the standard repertory of Islamic calligraphers.[4] He is credited with reforming *naskh* by a new method of trimming the point, but his precise contribution to the development of the formal scribal hands has still to be elucidated. Nevertheless, he remains the most famous Islamic calligrapher of the later Middle Ages.

No complete list of manuscripts in the hand of Yaqut exists, although several authors have attempted to compile such an inventory, and their efforts should form the basis for any detailed study.[5] It is the Qur'ans of Yaqut that have received the most attention, rather than the non-Qur'anic fragments said to be in his hand. Greatly prized from the earliest times, the Qur'anic material has been collected by connoisseurs all over the Islamic world and, in more recent times, by individuals and institutions in the West.

Indeed, so eager have people been to have examples of Yaqut's calligraphy that demand greatly outstripped supply, despite the master's supposedly enormous output of Qur'ans. Only a few years after Yaqut's death, the great Ilkhanid vizier Rashid al-Din, a collector of Qur'ans on a large scale, could only find ten in the calligrapher's hand to add to the library at his mausoleum.[6] This situation soon led to the production of facsimile copies, which were occasionally acknowledged as such by their copyists, as well as of outright forgeries. Facsimiles and forgeries often had attestations of their authenticity inscribed on the front or rear flyleaf, but no such authentications dated earlier than the 15th century are known, and they can therefore be regarded as worthless for the purpose of establishing what is the genuine work of Yaqut.

A further problem is that Yaqut Qur'ans, whether authentic, facsimile or fake, were often remargined and redecorated, which destroyed vital documentary and artistic evidence. However, as Yaqut was not an illuminator, and his work had always to be decorated by someone else, it is possible that some copies in his hand may not have been illuminated until some time after his death. It may be that some genuine Yaqut Qur'ans have been incorrectly dismissed as later copies because of their later illumination.

Several Qur'ans bearing Yaqut's name have late 13th- or early 14th-century illumination.[7] Although these may have been illuminated in Baghdad, there is no stylistic consistency in their decoration. Nor is there any connection between their styles and the illumination of cat. 11,

which is decorated in a manner close to that of manuscripts known for certain to have been illuminated in Baghdad in the early 14th century, just after Yaqut's death.

The first step in any definitive study of the Qur'ans attributed to Yaqut should be to locate those manuscripts that have contemporary illumination and to subject them to a thorough analysis of both the materials employed–the paper, ink and pigments–and any persistent idiosyncrasies in the script. Among the Qur'an manuscripts attributed to Yaqut, there are examples in *muḥaqqaq*, *naskh* and *rayḥān*, but no attempt has been made to determine the defining characteristics of Yaqut's versions of these three scripts and thereby to establish a corpus of manuscripts against which others might stand or fall.

The divergence between two of the most important manuscripts attributed to Yaqut demonstrates how difficult the task will be. Both manuscripts are generally accepted as genuine examples of Yaqut's work; the calligraphy in both is superb; and both are in *naskh*. The first is in Paris and is dated AH688/AD1289.[8] It is illuminated in a style that was certainly current in the early part of the 14th century and may well have been in use as early as 1289. The second is in Istanbul and is dated AH693/AD1294.[9] It is illuminated in a different style that was also current in the first half of the 14th century. However, the *naskh* of the Istanbul manuscript has several idiosyncratic features that are not found in the Paris copy.

In the Istanbul Qur'an, for example, the tail of final *mīm* is only half as long as it is in other Yaqut Qur'ans with early 14th-century illumination; at the same time, the stroke of final *nūn* is much longer and sometimes extends the length of the four following characters. However, although these features are absent from other manuscripts in *naskh* attributed to Yaqut, they frequently appear in Yaqut facsimile manuscripts. A Qur'an copied in Herat in AH846/AD1442 by Mahmud Qutb-i Mughaythi-i Sultani and now in the Gulistan Library in Tehran, for example, contains a statement by the calligrapher that he had copied a Qur'an by Yaqut, but the style of *naskh* he used was the same as in the Paris Qur'an of 1289.[10] This is the earliest known authentication of a Yaqut manuscript by a reliable authority, for Mahmud was the favoured calligrapher of Ibrahim Sultan, the Timurid prince who ruled Shiraz from 1414 until 1435. He presumably moved to Herat after the death of his patron.

These features are so distinctive that it is difficult to accept that both the Paris and Istanbul manuscripts are by the same person. It seems unlikely that the calligrapher could have written *naskh* so differently between 1289 and 1294, introducing such radical changes at the very end of his career, but this is a problem that it may never be possible to resolve.

Cat. 11–16 constitute a fascinating group of manuscripts by or ascribed to Yaqut that range in date from the end of the 13th century to the 16th century. They enable us to compare what is almost certainly a genuine Qur'an by Yaqut with later copies and facsimiles.

1. Çetin 1986.
2. Duri 1965, p. 326.
3. See Juvayni, I, p. li.
4. These include the three 'dry' and the three 'dampened' scripts; see *Qur'ans as Works of Art* above, pp. 15–16.
5. Ma'ani 1347, p. 85; Bayani 1345–58, IV, no. 741; and Çetin 1986, pp. 354–355.
6. James 1988, p. 128.
7. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MS. EH76, dated 1271; Tehran, Museum of Ancient Iran, MS. 4277, dated 1286; Mashhad, Astan-i Quds Library, MS. 120, dated 1287; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. arab. 6716, dated 1289; and Topkapı Palace Library, MS. EH74, dated 1294.
8. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. arab. 6716; see Paris 1987, cat. no. 29. This script resembles *rayḥān*, but most scholars call it *naskh*; see Lings & Safadi 1976, cat. no. 59, and Déroche 1985, cat. no. 523.
9. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MS. EH74; see Lings 1976, pls 26–7.
10. Bayani 1329, cat. no. 5; the colophon is reproduced on p. 37.

11

Part 15 of a 30-part Qur'an

Iraq, probably Baghdad, AH681/AD1282–3

58 folios, 24.5×17cm, with 5 lines on each page
Material A deep cream paper, laid, with 10 tight lines to the centimetre; the laid lines are probably horse hairs
Text area 19.2×11.5cm
Interlinear spacing 4cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in Kufic
Scribe Yaqut al-Musta'simi
Documentation Colophon
Binding Iran, 16th century
Accession no. QUR29
Comparative items Parts 2 and 12 of the same Qur'an are Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MSS EH227 and EH226;[1] and Part 8 is Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1452.[2] Compare also Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MSS EH247 and EH249, MS. EH243, and MS. K503; Istanbul, Museum of Turkish & Islamic Arts, MS. 202; and Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MS. EH151.[3]

1. For MS. EH227, see Karatay 1962, cat.no. 99; Tanındı 1986, p. 149; Atıl 1987, cat.no. 13; and Rogers & Ward 1988, cat.no. 19. For MS. EH226, see Karatay 1962, cat.no. 98.
2. See Arberry 1967, cat.no. 186, which has no accompanying illustration.
3. See James 1988, cat.nos 39, 40, 44, 49 and 53.
4. See Rogers & Ward 1988, cat.no. 19.
5. The pages of Part 8 also seem to have been varnished at some stage.
6. James 1988, pp. 92–8 and fig. 61.

Qur'ans in *muḥaqqaq* allegedly by Yaqut are exceedingly rare compared to those in *naskh* and *rayḥān*, and this Qur'an section is the only example to have retained its original decoration. The *recto* of the first folio bears the left-hand half of a double frontispiece, with the traces of a palmette on the left-hand side. The opening and closing pages of the text have been trimmed and remargined. The only surah heading is that of *Sūrat al-kahf* (XVIII), which is written in white Kufic over gold scrolls on a brown ground. In the margin beside it there is a gold palmette with a circle.

The text is written in black with black vocalization. Verses are marked by gold-petalled rosettes with blue centres and red dots. Groups of five and ten verses are marked in the margin by devices containing the number of verses in Kufic. For groups of five verses the device is a pear-shaped ornament defined by heavy blue lines, with finials above and below; for groups of ten verses it is a circle surrounded by hair lines. There is a gold line around the text on each page, but this is probably a later addition.

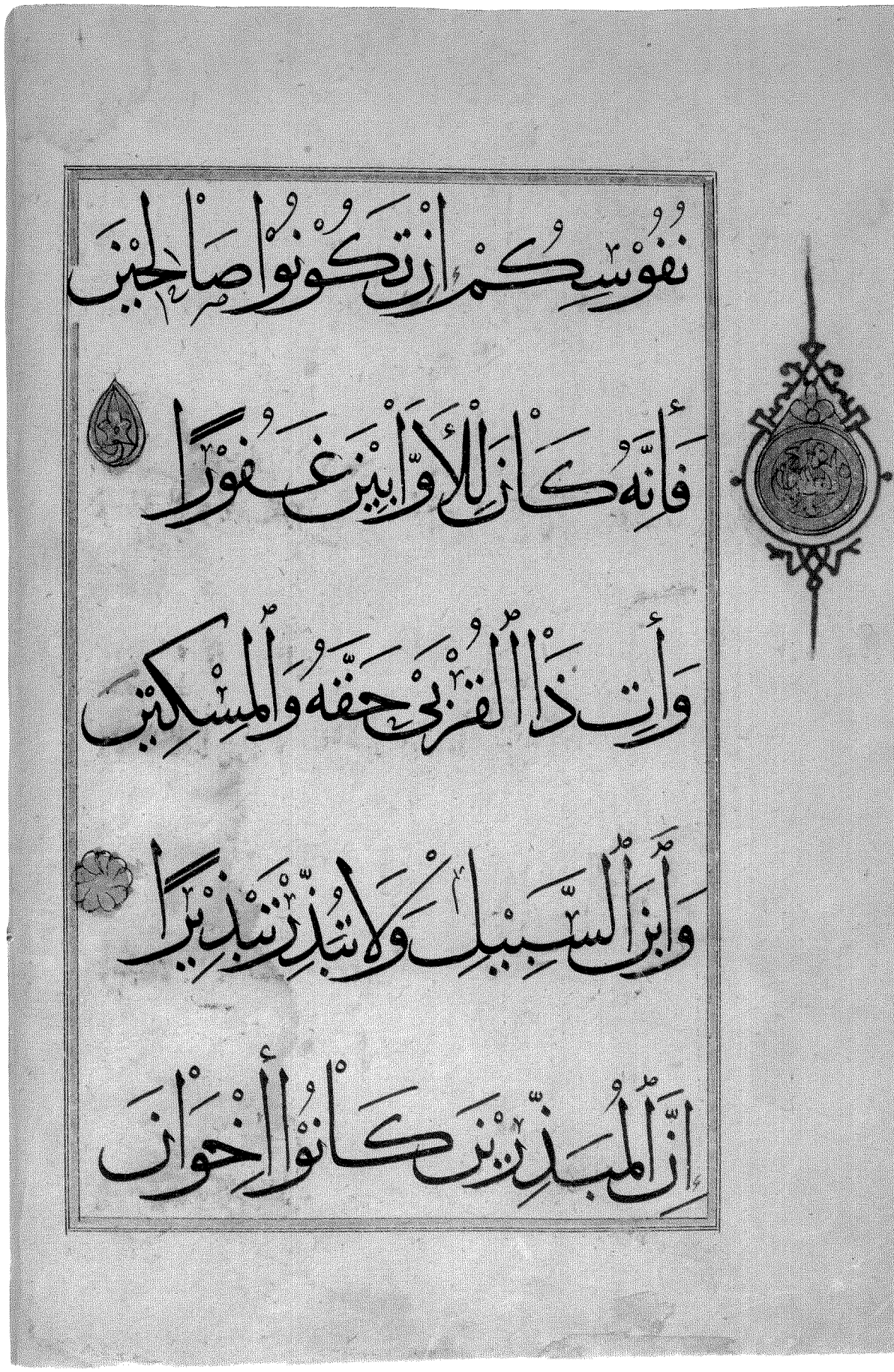
The black morocco binding bears a central octagonal medallion with pendants. The field is decorated with arabesques and cloud bands, and there is a border of cartouches, which are replaced by quatrefoils at the corners. The doublure has a central medallion and corner-pieces in paper filigree on a light brown ground.

There can be little doubt that the four surviving sections of this Qur'an are by the same calligrapher, for the hand in all four is extremely similar; the measurements of the *alifs* and the distance between the lines are identical, for example. It seems almost certain that the calligrapher in question is Yaqut al-Musta'simi. Three of the sections are signed by him, although it has been suggested that the colophon of Part 2 was added at a later date, perhaps by the Ottoman calligrapher Ahmed Karahisarî.[4] The signature on Part 15 has been inserted down the left-hand side of the final page of text and may also be a later addition. However, there can be no such doubts about the colophon of Part 8. It occupies the entire final page and must form part of the original text.

The attribution of these four sections to Yaqut is strengthened by the evidence of the illumination in Part 15. The other three sections were all completely remargined and redecorated in the 16th century, probably in Istanbul.[5] Part 15 must have become separated from the other three before this was done and was spared the loss of its original illumination. Several features of this decoration can be securely linked to illumination known to have been executed in the years soon after the completion of this Qur'an.

No parallel for the overall design of the frontispiece has been found, but the thin, black, wiry scrolls with fleshy, blue, divided leaves and white highlights were used in the same position in compositions by Muhammad ibn Aybak, the outstanding Baghdadi illuminator of the first quarter of the 14th century but are not found elsewhere.[6] The white decorative Kufic used on the opening pages of the text is also typical of Muhammad ibn Aybak's work; it is small and compact, and the length of

*11 folio 1a


نفوسكم أن تكونوا صالحين
فإنه كان للأوابين غفورا
وآت ذا القربى حقه والمسكين
وابن السبيل ولا تبذر تبذيرا
إن المبذرين كانوا إخوان

*11 folio 9b

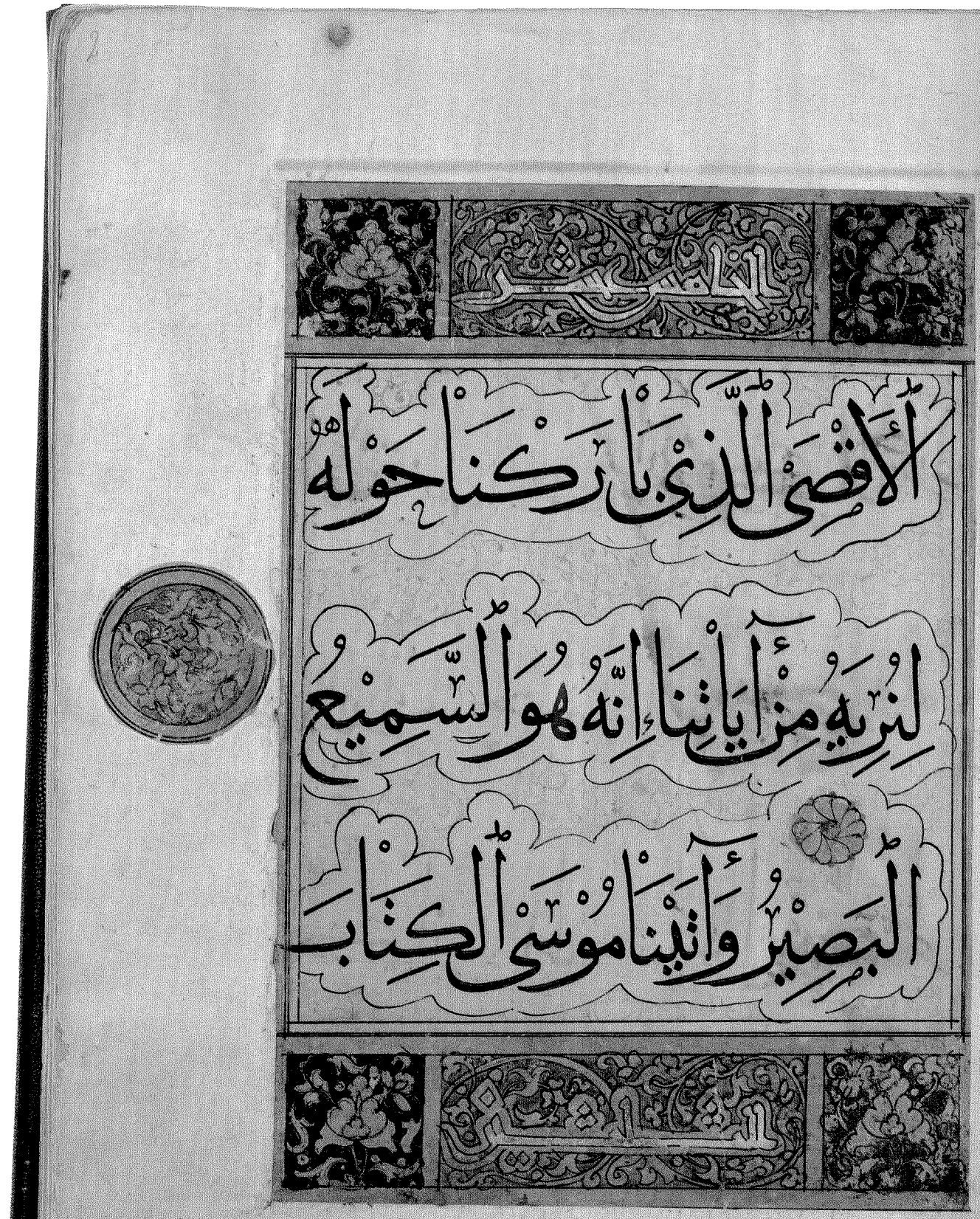
final *nūn, sīn* and similar letters is exaggerated. Other motifs typical of the period are the strapwork that frames the frontispiece; the palmette next to the surah heading on folio 34b; and the knots that occur at either end of the upper and lower panels on the closing pages of the text.[7]

On the evidence of the colophon of Part 8 and the illumination of Part 15, the attribution to Yaqut seems assured; confirmation is provided both by external and internal evidence. There is clearly a connection between this Qur'an and another executed in Baghdad between 1301 and 1307 by Yaqut's pupil Ibn al-Suhrawardi, which is in an almost identical *muḥaqqaq* hand.[8] Moreover, there is a close correlation between the size of the paper used for cat. 11 and that used for other manuscripts known to have been made in Baghdad in the first decade of the 14th century, and all the measurements seem to correspond to a series of modules given by the Mamluk writer Qalqashandi, our main source on the subject.[9]

Allowing for trimming and the accuracy of the measurements, the dimensions of pages in cat. 11 are 24.5×17cm, and this may be compared to Qalqashandi's 'one-third *manṣūrī*' size, which measured 24.4×16.2cm. The dimensions of bifolios in cat. 11 are 34×24.5cm, corresponding to the 'half *manṣūrī*' size, which measured 36.6×24.4cm. Doubling this size gives us a sheet of paper measuring 48.8×36.6cm, dimensions that are very close to the page size of the Qur'an copied by Ibn al-Suhrawardi between 1301 and 1307, 50.1×35.5cm.[10] The page size of the Qur'an copied in Baghdad for Sultan Öljeytü between 1307 and *circa* 1313 is 73×50cm, virtually double the page size of the Qur'an of Ibn al-Suhrawardi.[11] Bifolios from the Qur'an made for Öljeytü measure 100×73cm, which is almost as large as the 'full *baghdādī*' size given by Qalqashandi, 109.9×73.3cm. This was the largest size possible and entirely appropriate for an imperial Qur'an. The dimensions of the 'diminished *baghdādī*' size given in Qalqashandi are 97.7×65.1cm. These may be compared to the size of bifolios in the Qur'an of Ibn al-Suhrawardi, 100.2×71cm.

The Qur'an of which cat. 11 forms a part is perhaps the only extant example which has calligraphic, decorative and codicological features that can unquestionably be associated with Baghdad in the late 13th century. It differs in this from all other Qur'ans bearing Yaqut's name and is thus a document of prime importance.

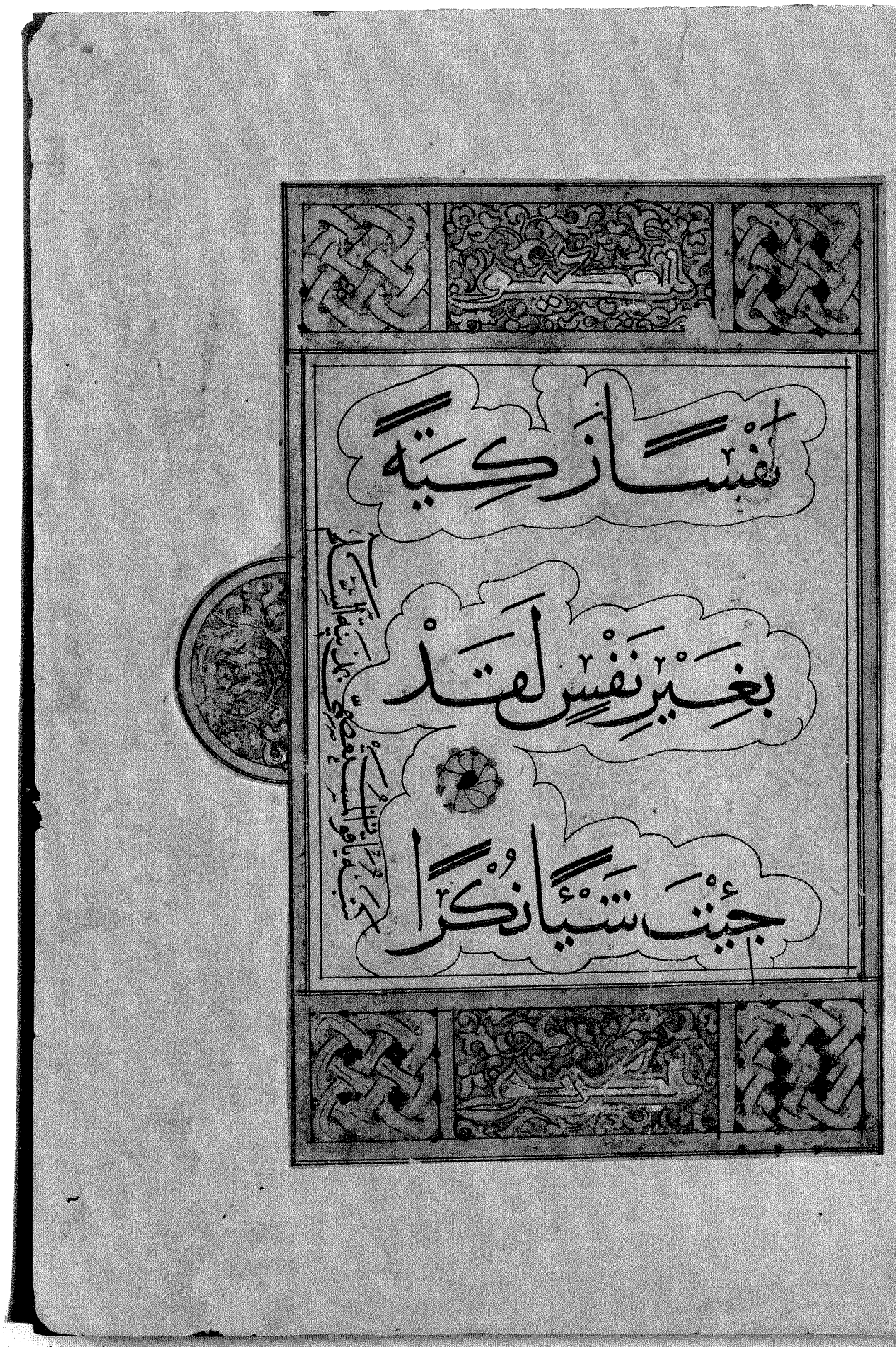
7. James 1988, p. 238, cat.no. 44.
8. See James 1988, fig. 50, a page from the Topkapı MS. EH247. Ibn al-Suhrawardi's *muḥaqqaq* is more carefully written and is virtually free of errors, while there are a small number of errors in the Yaqut Qur'an, and two thicknesses of pen were used to write the accusative and genitive case endings. One explanation for this is that Yaqut was nearing the end of his career, but the most likely reason is that Ibn al-Suhrawardi's Qur'an, which was exactly double the size, was produced for a more important patron; the illumination is certainly far grander.
9. The information on paper sizes is taken from Chicago 1981, p. 31.
10. Karatay 1962, cat.no. 166.
11. Karatay 1962, cat.no. 171.


الأقصى الذي باركنا حوله
لنريه من آياتنا إنه هو السميع
البصير وآتينا موسى الكتاب

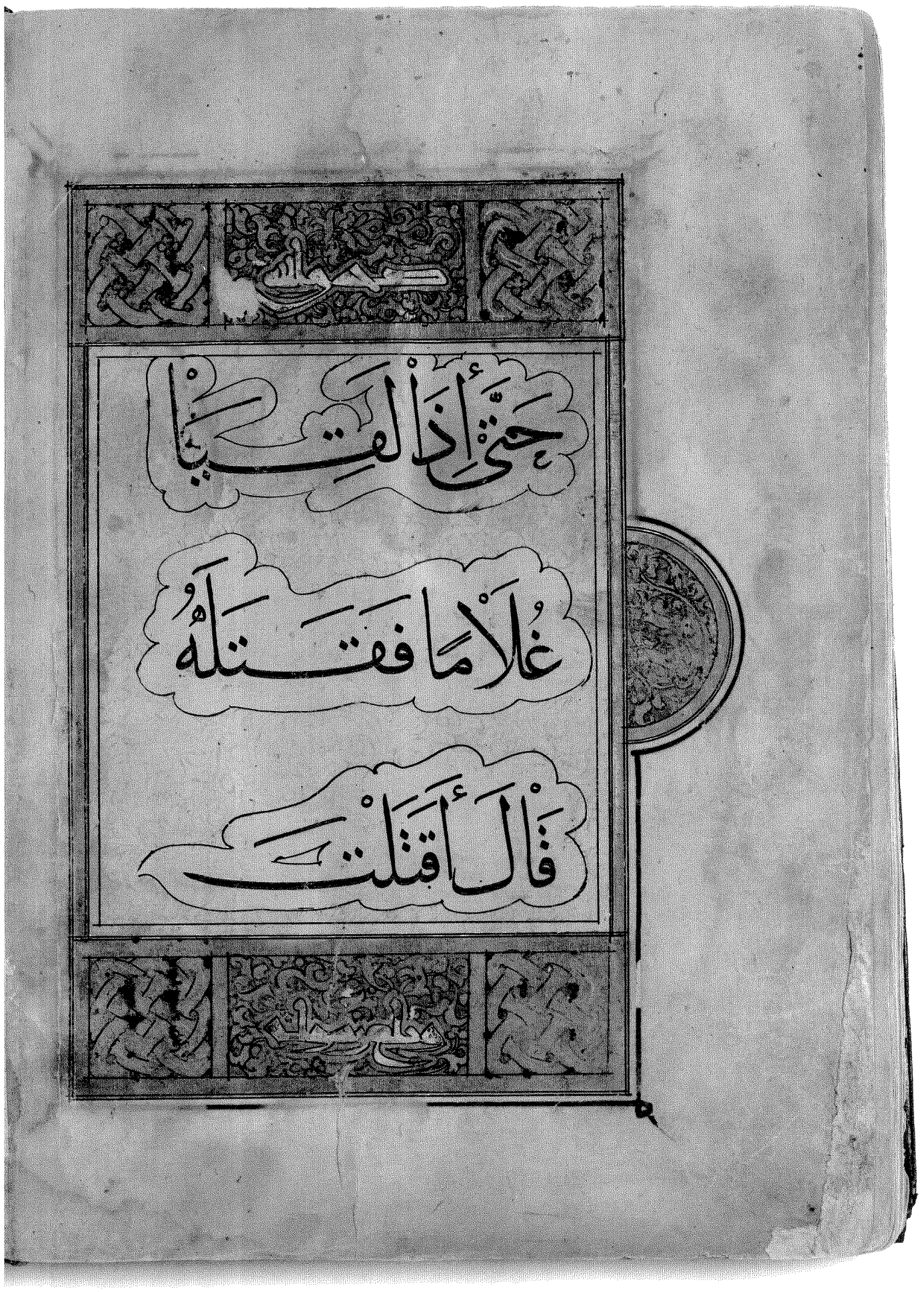
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

سبحان الذي أسرى بعبده

ليلا من المسجد الحرام الى المسجد



*11 folios 57b–58a


حَتَّىٰٓ إِذَا لَقِيَا
غُلَٰمًا فَقَتَلَهُۥ
قَالَ أَقَتَلْتَ

12

Single-volume Qur'an

Iraq or Iran, *circa* AD 1250–1450

400 folios, 17.4×11.2 cm, with 12 lines to the page
Material A cream wove paper, well beaten and polished
Text area 8×6.2 cm
Interlinear spacing 0.7 cm
Script The main text in naskh, incidentals in thulth
Scribe Attributed to Yaqut
Documentation A notice of attribution
Binding An Iranian 'lacquer' cover of the 18th century
Accession no. QUR30
Comparative items Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MSS EH74 and EH76[1]

1 .Lings 1976, pls 24–7.
2 .Topkapı Palace Library, MS. EH74.

The text is a very fine example of a Yaquti hand. Visual inspection would suggest that the text was written on old paper that has been set into later margins, and ultraviolet examination has confirmed that the paper of the margins is of a different type to that of the main text. On the first folio there is a damaged 18th-century inscription which associates the Qur'an with Yaqut al-Musta'simi, and the script is certainly close in its general appearance to that of a Qur'an in Istanbul dated AH 693/AD 1294 that may well be the work of Yaqut.[2] However, comparison of the same surah in the two manuscripts shows that cat. 12 does not always have the same letter formation as the Istanbul Qur'an.

It is impossible to tell from this whether cat. 12 dates from the 13th century; it was certainly produced no later than the 15th century. Folios 184–190 are replacements in an imitation of the original hand, and ultraviolet examination has shown the final folio to be a later addition with no trace of a colophon beneath the decoration on the *recto*. On the flyleaf are several notices of births, but without dates.

The illumination in the manuscript seems to have been added from the 16th century onwards. The binding has a central medallion with pendants in black on a red-gold ground. These and the narrow rectangular border are covered with fine scrolls. The doublures bear a floral motif on black.

13

Single-volume Qur'an

Probably Iran, *circa* AD 1400–1450

302 folios, 19.5×12.1 cm, with 15 lines to the page
Material The text is on a buff, well-beaten wove paper; the margin is made of a cream paper, laid, with 6 lines to the centimetre
Text area 11.6×7.7 cm
Interlinear spacing 0.8 cm
Script The main text in naskh, incidentals in thulth
Scribe Attributed to Yaqut al-Musta'simi
Documentation Four notices of attribution
Binding Iran, 16th century
Accession no. QUR52

Five inscriptions attribute this manuscript to Yaqut al-Musta'simi; the earliest is anonymous and is dated 10 Muharram AH 910/23 June AD 1504. The attribution was clearly not the result of familiarity with manuscripts in the hand of Yaqut, since on some pages the text is cramped and carelessly written, and very unusual orthographic peculiarities occur. The diacritical points of a final letter *tā'* or *bā'* are written over or under the 'tooth' of the character rather than the body, while final letters *nūn*, *qāf* and *fā'* are left unpointed. There are no known Yaquti Qur'ans with this latter feature, which is rare in Eastern Qur'ans but common in those from the Maghrib after AD 1400. Why it should occur in what is undoubtedly an Eastern manuscript has still to be explained.

The manuscript is probably of Timurid origin, as the illumination on the opening pages indicates.

سورة فاطر مكية وهي اربعون اية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله فاطر السموات والارض جاعل الملائكة
رسلا اولي اجنحة مثنى وثلاث ورباع يزيد في
الخلق ما يشاء ان الله على كل شيء قدير ما يفتح
الله للناس من رحمة فلا ممسك لها وما يمسك
فلا مرسل له من بعده وهو العزيز الحكيم يا ايها
الناس اذكروا نعمة الله عليكم هل من خالق
غير الله يرزقكم من السماء والارض لا اله الا هو
فاني تؤفكون وان يكذبوك فقد كذبت
رسل من قبلك والى الله ترجع الامور يا ايها الناس

ان وعد الله حق فلا تغرنكم الحياة الدنيا ولا يغرنكم
بالله الغرور ان الشيطان لكم عدو فاتخذوه عدوا
انما يدعو حزبه ليكونوا من اصحاب السعير الذين
كفروا لهم عذاب شديد والذين امنوا وعملوا الصالحات
لهم مغفرة واجر كبير افمن زين له سوء عمله فرآه
حسنا فان الله يضل من يشاء ويهدي من يشاء فلا
تذهب نفسك عليهم حسرات ان الله عليم بما يصنعون
والله الذي ارسل الرياح فتثير سحابا فسقناه الى بلد
ميت فاحيينا به الارض كذلك النشور من كان يريد
العزة فلله العزة جميعا اليه يصعد الكلم الطيب
والعمل الصالح يرفعه والذين يمكرون السيئات لهم
عذاب شديد ومكر اولئك هو يبور والله خلقكم من
تراب ثم من نطفة ثم جعلكم ازواجا وما تحمل من
انثى ولا تضع الا بعلمه وما يعمر من معمر ولا ينقص
من عمره الا في كتاب ان ذلك على الله يسير وما
يستوي البحران هذا عذب فرات سائغ شرابه وهذا
ملح اجاج ومن كل تاكلون لحما طريا وتستخرجون
حلية تلبسونها وترى الفلك مواخر فيه ولتبتغوا من
فضله ولعلكم تشكرون يولج الليل في النهار ويولج
النهار في الليل وسخر الشمس والقمر كل يجري لاجل
مسمى ذلكم الله ربكم له الملك والذين تدعون من
دونه ما يملكون من قطمير ان تدعوهم لا يسمعوا
دعاءكم ولو سمعوا ما استجابوا لكم ويوم القيامة
يكفرون بشركيكم ولا ينبئك مثل خبير يا ايها الناس
انتم الفقراء الى الله والله هو الغني الحميد ان يشأ
يذهبكم ويات بخلق جديد وما ذلك على الله بعزيز
ولا تزر وازرة وزر اخرى وان تدع مثقلة الى حملها
لا يحمل منه شيء ولو كان ذا قربى انما تنذر الذين
يخشون ربهم بالغيب واقاموا الصلاة ومن تزكى فانما
يتزكى لنفسه والى الله المصير وما يستوي الاعمى
والبصير ولا الظلمات ولا النور ولا الظل ولا الحرور
وما يستوي الاحياء ولا الاموات ان الله يسمع من
يشاء وما انت بمسمع من في القبور ان انت الا نذير
انا ارسلناك بالحق بشيرا ونذيرا وان من امة الا خلا
فيها نذير وان يكذبوك فقد كذب الذين من قبلهم
جاءتهم رسلهم بالبينات وبالزبر وبالكتاب المنير ثم
اخذت الذين كفروا فكيف كان نكير الم تر ان الله
انزل من السماء ماء فاخرجنا به ثمرات مختلفا الوانها
ومن الجبال جدد بيض وحمر مختلف الوانها وغرابيب
سود ومن الناس والدواب والانعام مختلف الوانه
كذلك انما يخشى الله من عباده العلماء ان الله عزيز
غفور ان الذين يتلون كتاب الله واقاموا الصلاة
وانفقوا مما رزقناهم سرا وعلانية يرجون تجارة لن
تبور ليوفيهم اجورهم ويزيدهم من فضله انه غفور
شكور والذي اوحينا اليك من الكتاب هو الحق
مصدقا لما بين يديه ان الله بعباده لخبير بصير ثم
اورثنا الكتاب الذين اصطفينا من عبادنا فمنهم ظالم
لنفسه ومنهم مقتصد ومنهم سابق بالخيرات باذن الله
ذلك هو الفضل الكبير جنات عدن يدخلونها يحلون
فيها من اساور من ذهب ولؤلؤا ولباسهم فيها حرير
وقالوا الحمد لله الذي اذهب عنا الحزن ان ربنا
لغفور شكور الذي احلنا دار المقامة من فضله لا
يمسنا فيها نصب ولا يمسنا فيها لغوب والذين كفروا
لهم نار جهنم لا يقضى عليهم فيموتوا ولا يخفف
عنهم من عذابها كذلك نجزي كل كفور وهم يصطرخون
فيها ربنا اخرجنا نعمل صالحا غير الذي كنا نعمل
اولم نعمركم ما يتذكر فيه من تذكر وجاءكم النذير
فذوقوا فما للظالمين من نصير ان الله عالم غيب
السموات والارض انه عليم بذات الصدور هو الذي
جعلكم خلائف في الارض فمن كفر فعليه كفره
ولا يزيد الكافرين كفرهم عند ربهم الا مقتا ولا
يزيد الكافرين كفرهم الا خسارا قل ارايتم شركاءكم
الذين تدعون من دون الله ارونى ماذا خلقوا من
الارض ام لهم شرك في السموات ام اتيناهم كتابا
فهم على بينت منه بل ان يعد الظالمون بعضهم
بعضا الا غرورا ان الله يمسك السموات والارض ان
تزولا ولئن زالتا ان امسكهما من احد من بعده انه
كان حليما غفورا واقسموا بالله جهد ايمانهم لئن
جاءهم نذير ليكونن اهدى من احدى الامم فلما
جاءهم نذير ما زادهم الا نفورا استكبارا في الارض
ومكر السيئ ولا يحيق المكر السيئ الا باهله فهل
ينظرون الا سنت الاولين فلن تجد لسنت الله تبديلا
ولن تجد لسنت الله تحويلا اولم يسيروا في الارض
فينظروا كيف كان عاقبة الذين من قبلهم وكانوا
اشد منهم قوة وما كان الله ليعجزه من شيء في
السموات ولا في الارض انه كان عليما قديرا ولو
يؤاخذ الله الناس بما كسبوا ما ترك على ظهرها من
دابة ولكن يؤخرهم الى اجل مسمى فاذا جاء اجلهم
فان الله كان بعباده بصيرا

سورة الملائكة خمس واربعون اية مكية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله فاطر السموت والارض جاعل الملئكة رسلا اولى
اجنحة مثنى وثلث وربع يزيد في الخلق ما يشاء ان الله
على كل شيء قدير ما يفتح الله للناس من رحمة فلا ممسك
لها وما يمسك فلا مرسل له من بعده وهو العزيز الحكيم
يا ايها الناس اذكروا نعمت الله عليكم هل من خلق
غير الله يرزقكم من السماء والارض لا اله الا هو
فاني تؤفكون وان يكذبوك فقد كذبت رسل من قبلك
والى الله ترجع الامور

يا ايها الناس ان وعد الله حق فلا تغرنكم الحيوة الدنيا ولا يغرنكم
بالله الغرور ان الشيطن لكم عدو فاتخذوه عدوا
انما يدعوا حزبه ليكونوا من اصحب السعير الذين
كفروا لهم عذاب شديد والذين امنوا وعملوا الصلحت
لهم مغفرة واجر كبير افمن زين له سوء عمله فرءاه
حسنا فان الله يضل من يشاء ويهدي من يشاء فلا
تذهب نفسك عليهم حسرت ان الله عليم بما يصنعون
والله الذي ارسل الرياح فتثير سحابا فسقنه الى بلد
ميت فاحيينا به الارض كذلك النشور من كان يريد
العزة فلله العزة جميعا اليه يصعد الكلم الطيب
والعمل الصالح يرفعه والذين يمكرون السيئت لهم
عذاب شديد ومكر اولئك هو يبور والله خلقكم من
تراب ثم من نطفة ثم جعلكم ازوجا وما تحمل من
انثى ولا تضع الا بعلمه وما يعمر من معمر ولا ينقص
من عمره الا في كتب ان ذلك على الله يسير وما
يستوي البحران هذا عذب فرات سائغ شرابه وهذا
ملح اجاج ومن كل تاكلون لحما طريا وتستخرجون
حلية تلبسونها وترى الفلك مواخر فيه ولتبتغوا من
فضله ولعلكم تشكرون يولج الليل في النهار ويولج
النهار في الليل وسخر الشمس والقمر كل يجري لاجل
مسمى ذلكم الله ربكم له الملك والذين تدعون من
دونه ما يملكون من قطمير ان تدعوهم لا يسمعوا
دعاءكم ولو سمعوا ما استجابوا لكم ويوم القيمة
يكفرون بشركيكم ولا ينبئك مثل خبير يا ايها الناس
انتم الفقراء الى الله والله هو الغني الحميد ان يشأ
يذهبكم ويات بخلق جديد وما ذلك على الله بعزيز
ولا تزر وازرة وزر اخرى وان تدع مثقلة الى حملها
لا يحمل منه شيء ولو كان ذا قربى انما تنذر الذين
يخشون ربهم بالغيب واقاموا الصلوة ومن تزكى فانما
يتزكى لنفسه والى الله المصير وما يستوي الاعمى
والبصير ولا الظلمت ولا النور ولا الظل ولا الحرور
وما يستوي الاحياء ولا الاموات ان الله يسمع من
يشاء وما انت بمسمع من في القبور ان انت الا نذير
انا ارسلنك بالحق بشيرا ونذيرا وان من امة الا خلا
فيها نذير وان يكذبوك فقد كذب الذين من قبلهم
جاءتهم رسلهم بالبينت وبالزبر وبالكتب المنير ثم
اخذت الذين كفروا فكيف كان نكير الم تر ان الله
انزل من السماء ماء فاخرجنا به ثمرت مختلفا الوانها
ومن الجبال جدد بيض وحمر مختلف الوانها وغرابيب
سود ومن الناس والدواب والانعم مختلف الوانه
كذلك انما يخشى الله من عباده العلمؤا ان الله عزيز
غفور ان الذين يتلون كتب الله واقاموا الصلوة
وانفقوا مما رزقنهم سرا وعلانية يرجون تجرة لن
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دابة ولكن يؤخرهم الى اجل مسمى فاذا جاء اجلهم
فان الله كان بعباده بصيرا

14

Qur'an fragment

Iran, *circa* AD 1420–1430

27 folios, 37×29cm, with
8 lines to the page
Material A cream, well-polished,
tightly laid paper with an
indeterminate number of lines
Text area 27×16.4cm
Interlinear spacing 2cm
Script The main text in a
combination of large and
medium muḥaqqaq, incidentals
in thulth
Scribe Attributed to
Yaqut al-Musta'simi
Documentation A notice
of attribution
Binding Modern
Accession no. QUR302

The text, which runs from *Sūrat al-ḥajj* (XXII) to *Sūrat al-nūr* (XXIV), is arranged in two lines of large *muḥaqqaq* with six lines of medium *muḥaqqaq* between them. The scripts are of good quality but are slightly marred by shaky vertical letters. There is an attribution to Yaqut al-Musta'simi at the end of the manuscript and a number of almost illegible seals.

The text area, which is divided into five panels of different sizes by fine gold rules, was remounted at a later stage, and any marginalia were lost. The surah headings on folios 9b and 17a were written in gold *thulth* and decorated in a Shirazi style of the first quarter of the 15th century. The blue has largely faded, but the heading on folio 7a still has its gold floral sprays. Verses are punctuated by small gold rosettes.

وما جعل عليكم في الدين من حرج

ملة أبيكم ابرهيم هو سميكم المسلمين من قبل وفي هذا ليكون
الرسول شهيدا عليكم وتكونوا شهدا على الناس فاقيموا الصلوة وآتوا
الزكوة واعتصموا بالله هو مولىكم فنعم المولى ونعم النصير

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

قد افلح المومنون الذين هم في

15

Single-volume Qur'an

Probably Iran, *circa* 1400–1450

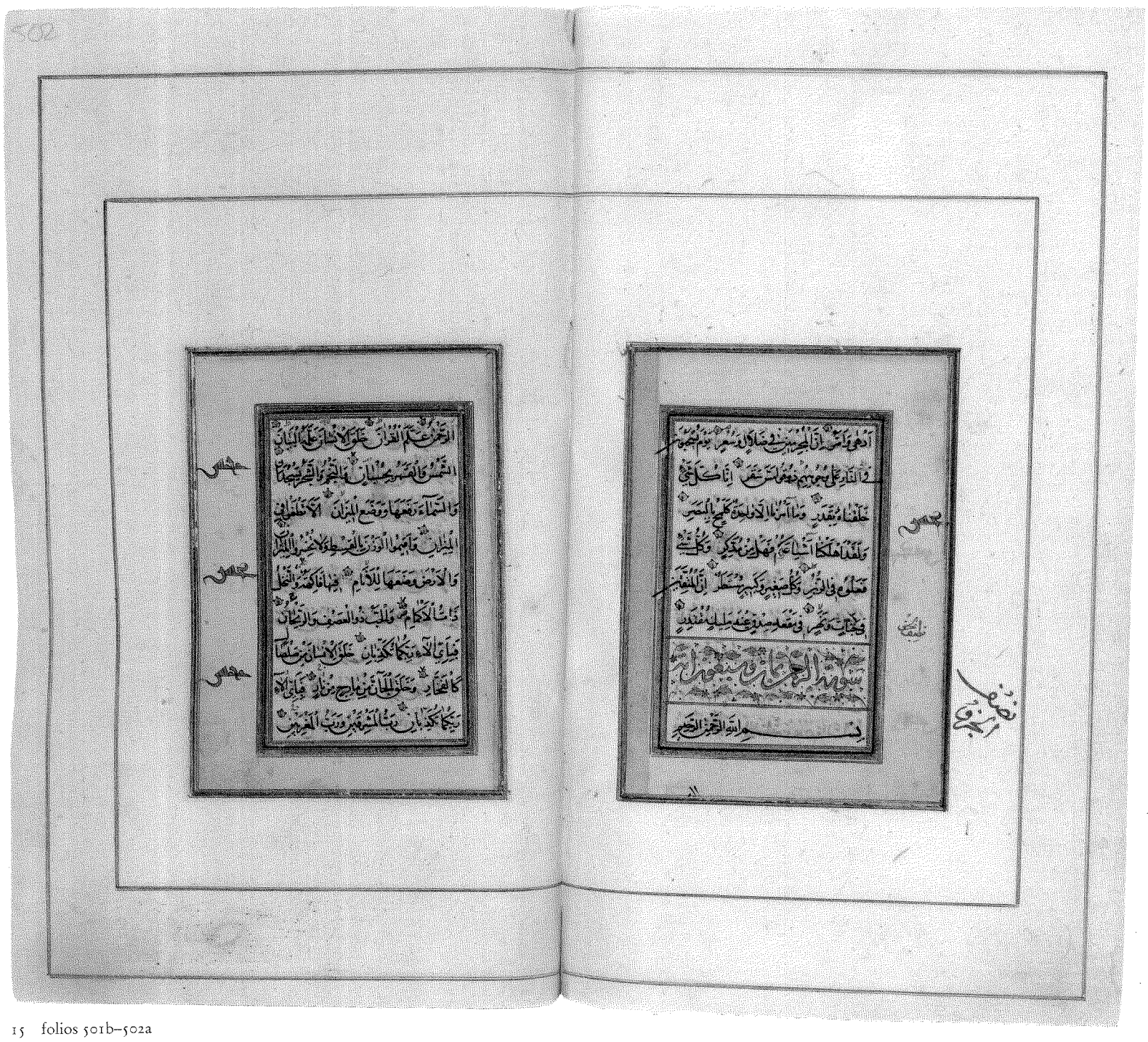
500 folios, 10.1×7.3, with 9 lines to the page; set in later margins measuring 22.3×12.4cm
Material A buff paper, laid, with 8 lines to the centimetre; the margins are of cream, polished paper, laid, with 8 lines to the centimetre
Text area 7.1×4.2cm
Interlinear spacing 0.7cm
Script The main text in naskh, incidentals in thulth and Kufic
Scribe Attributed to Yaqut al-Musta'simi
Documentation Five notices of attribution
Binding Possibly Iran, 16th or 17th century
Accession no. QUR692

This manuscript has obviously been greatly prized. Not only have the original pages been expertly repaired in several places, but many have been 'improved' and added to on several occasions. It doubtless received such attention because it contains several attributions to Yaqut al-Musta'simi. The earliest were written by two famous calligraphers, 'Abd al-Rahim Jazayiri, who lived during the reign of Shah Sultan Husayn (1694–1722), and Ahmad Nayrizi, who died after 1739; Ahmad Nayrizi's signature is accompanied by a seal impression which reads *'Abduhu Aḥmad*. We have no way of knowing whether these are genuine, and it has not been possible to establish whether the seal is Nayrizi's. There are two later inscriptions, both dated to the same year, AH 1344/ AD 1925–6; one is in the name of Dr Husayn Miftah, the other in that of the Director of the Malik Library in Tehran, Ahmad Suhayli Khwansari. A final inscription is anonymous and undated.

The manuscript is unlike any other Yaquti Qur'an copied in *naskh* or *rayḥān*. The script is *naskh*, but with two features common to *tawqī'*. On many pages a final *tā'*, *bā'*, *fā'* or similar letter is extended into the margin. This letter and whatever letter forms are combined with it are located above the body of the line. When *nūn* occurs at the end of a line and is similarly treated, the sublinear curve is flattened out exactly as in *tawqī'*. Sometimes ligatures are used, also in the manner of *tawqī'*. Such features of *tawqī'* are extremely rare in a Qur'anic text.

The original manuscript has been set into much larger margins, and the opening pages have been re-illuminated. Folio 1 is a replacement, and a matching piece of paper has been stuck down over folio 2a. This and the facing page have received new illumination, probably executed in Iran in the late 16th century or the 17th. A somewhat different, possibly slightly earlier, style of illumination is found on folios 2b–3a.

In the remainder of the manuscript surah headings are in gold within gold panels. The titles are surrounded by orange and blue blossoms with gold leaves and a treble-dot motif. The text is framed by coloured rules. Verses are marked by gold circles with blue dots, and groups of ten verses are marked in the margins by the word *'ashar* ('ten') in gold Kufic.



15 folios 501b–502a

16

Single-volume Qur'an

Probably Iran, 16th century AD

524 folios, 20.2×12.5 cm, with 11 lines to the page
Material A cream, well-polished paper, tightly laid, with an indeterminate number of lines
Text area 11.8×6.5 cm
Interlinear spacing 0.8 cm
Script The main text in a combination of muḥaqqaq and naskh, incidentals in thulth
Binding Ottoman, 16th or 17th century
Accession no. QUR269

The manuscript is of 16th-century origin and probably Safavid. However, the final folio has been altered, and a colophon in the name of Yaqut al-Musta'simi has been inserted. This is a deliberate and crude falsification, and part of the original colophon appears in the panel below the forged colophon.

There are no Qur'ans in this format by Yaqut, and the person who altered the colophon seems to have had little familiarity with the styles of calligraphy used in the 13th century. Some of the letter forms employed in the manuscript, such as *mīm* with a long vertical tail, almost never occur in the work of Yaqut. On the other hand, the extended sublinear curve of the letter *nūn* is found in the Yaqut Qur'an of AH693/AD1294. There are three panels containing the first, fifth and eleventh lines in blue or gold *muḥaqqaq* on each page; between them are two panels containing four lines of *naskh* each. There are gold rules around each panel and blue and gold rules around the text area as a whole. Reading notes are marked in red. Verses are separated by gold discs. Each group of ten verses is marked in the margin by a blue medallion bordered with gold and bearing a floral spray. Groups of five verses are marked by a medallion with a pointed border and long blue spikes above and below. Surah headings are in white *thulth* in gold panels which run the length of the panels of *naskh*, and have floral sprays. There are no opening pages of illumination. Instead, above and below the first pages of text are panels decorated in the same style as the surah headings.

The binding is in brown morocco with a fine central counter-sunk medallion in a cartouche shape with cloud-band decoration. The spine and flap have painted decoration.

اهتديت فيما يوحي إلي ربي

إنه سميع قريب ۝ ولو ترى إذ فزعوا فلا فوت

وأخذوا من مكان قريب ۝ وقالوا آمنا به وأنى

لهم التناوش من مكان بعيد ۝ وقد

كفروا به من قبل ويقذفون بالغيب من مكان

بعيد ۝ وحيل بينهم وبين ما

يشتهون كما فعل بأشياعهم من قبل إنهم

كانوا في شك مريب ۝

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله فاطر السموات

والأرض جاعل الملائكة رسلا أولي أجنحة مثنى

وثلاث ورباع يزيد في الخلق ما يشاء إن الله

على كل شيء قدير ۝ ما يفتح الله للناس من

رحمة فلا ممسك لها وما يمسك فلا مرسل

له من بعده وهو العزيز الحكيم

يا أيها الناس اذكروا نعمت الله عليكم هل

من خالق غير الله يرزقكم من السماء والأرض

لا إله إلا هو فأنى تؤفكون ۝ وإن يكذبوك

فقد كذبت رسل من قبلك وإلى الله ترجع

الأمور يا أيها الناس إن وعد

Eastern Iran and Northern India

The first Muslim presence in India was established in the 8th century AD, when the impetus of the initial Islamic expansion brought the Arabs as far as Sind, but it was only from the time of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (*reg* 997–1037) that Islam began to take firm root in the subcontinent. Both the Ghaznavids and their successors, the Ghurids, who accomplished the conquest of the Punjab between 1180 and the early years of the 13th century, entered India from eastern Iran, which they continued to rule together with their new domains. The subsequent Islamic culture of India reflected these political ties. In 1215, the Khwarazmshah conquered the Ghurids' territories in Iran, and the Ghurids' Indian lands were left in the hands of their Turkish military commanders, who ruled as sultans of Delhi.

Although the establishment of Islam in India faced continual opposition from the Hindu majority, the egalitarian aspects of the new religion were of considerable appeal to the underprivileged classes, and its monotheism was not entirely at variance with certain aspects of Hindu philosophy. Conversion to Islam by Hindus and the assimilation of Hindu ideas by some Sufi orders contributed to the spread of Islam. The Muslim rulers of the 11th–13th centuries were powerful and wealthy enough to erect a whole series of imposing buildings, of which the best known is the Qutb Minar in Delhi, built in 1199. Suitably monumental Qur'ans must have been commissioned for use in these buildings. While some may have been imported from centres of production in Iran, others would have been produced locally. However, the humidity of much of India is far more damaging to manuscripts than the arid climate of the Middle East. Consequently, the rate of survival for early Indian Qur'ans is poor, although we will not know how poor until the holdings of Indian libraries and museums have been properly examined. A further problem is that Ghaznavid and Ghurid Qur'ans from India may well have been in a style indistinguishable from that of eastern Iran.

Although there are a number of manuscripts from 12th-century Iran, few can be directly associated with the Ghurids. One that may be is a Qur'an in several volumes that also contains the commentary of Surabadi, composed for the Ghurid monarch Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad (*reg* 1162–1202). This manuscript, now in the Museum of Ancient Iran in Tehran, is dated AH 584/AD 1182 and was copied by a scribe of Nishapur, a city at that time under Ghurid control. Only one page has been published in a black and white reproduction, but this is sufficient to show that the illuminator achieved a very high level of artistry. The text is written in a large *muḥaqqaq* with a translation and the commentary in a smaller *naskh* hand. The surah heading at the top of the page is in a fine floriated Kufic on well-painted, and probably polychrome, arabesque scrolls.

Two Qur'ans catalogued below, cat. 17 and 18, are clearly products of the same artistic tradition, even though they are much less sophisticated in appearance and were made almost a century later, in AH667/AD 1269 and AH669/AD 1271 respectively. There is no express evidence to show where either was copied, but the coincidence of a number of minor factors points to an Indian provenance. Cat. 17 is on a poor type of paper not seen in other Qur'ans of the period, which suggests that it was not produced in the central Islamic lands, and analysis of the white pigment used in the illumination of the same manuscript has shown that it was made from gypsum anhydrite. White lead is the usual substance employed for white in Iranian manuscripts, while gypsum anhydrite was not only used in Indian wall-paintings and painted wood sculpture, but has been attested in a Sultanate manuscript of the 15th century.[1] Furthermore, a notable feature of the script used is that *nūn*, *ṣād*, *sīn* and similar letters always extend beneath one or more following words, and these dramatic sublinear extensions are very reminiscent of later stone inscriptions from India.

The binding of cat. 17 can be linked to a somewhat earlier tradition in Iran. In many respects it resembles the binding on a copy of the *Manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān* made in the 1290s that is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.[2] In both cases the main field contains a central lozenge divided into three compartments, and there are triangles of blind-tooled interlace in the four corners. The Qur'an binding also has pyramids of interlace in the upper and lower parts of the main field. These are absent on the covers of the Morgan manuscript, but they are seen on other 13th-century bindings such as one discovered at Nayin.[3] In the course of restoration, it was possible to examine the leather-covered paste-boards. These consist of multiple layers of discarded manuscript pages that have been glued together. Rather surprisingly, all of the fragments examined were Qur'an pages. Most of these were written in varieties of *naskh*, but they did include some written in Eastern Kufic.[4] The *naskh* hands are mostly large, freely written varieties and appear to be of 12th- or 13th-century date, indicating that the binding is almost certainly original.

The second manuscript in this group, cat. 18, is dated one year later than cat. 17. Although it differs in some respects, cat. 18 has illumination that is in an archaic eastern Iranian style reminiscent of 12th-century work. This would suggest that it too was produced outside the main centres of Iranian culture, and, as it was commissioned by a woman who may have been a descendant of an official of the Ghurid ruler Muʿizz al-Din Muhammad (*reg* 1173–1206), its origin is probably to be sought in India.

1. Lowry & Beach, 1988, Appendix 9, p. 425.
2. Ettinghausen 1954, fig. 344.
3. Ettinghausen 1954, fig. 358.
4. Some of the larger varieties resemble the script of MS. arab.6041 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, a Qur'an copied in Bust in AH 505/AD 1111–2; see Déroche 1985, cat.no. 52, pl. VIa. F. Déroche has informed me that he has come across other examples of Qur'an pages being used to make up paste-board for Qur'an bindings, and another binding in the Khalili Collection, QUR150, was found to contain contemporary paper while being restored; see volume 1 of this catalogue.

17

The first volume of a two-volume Qur'an

Eastern Iran or northern India, AH667/AD1269

301 folios, 45×31.6cm, with 9 lines to the page
Material A deep buff, very floccular rustic paper, laid, with 5 lines to the centimetre; rib shadows are visible far apart
Text area 35×21cm
Interlinear spacing 4cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in thulth and Kufic
Scribe ?Muhammad ibn ?Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr-i Khattat (*sic*), called '... dawlati'
Documentation A colophon, and an Ottoman endowment notice dated Ramadan AH957/September AD1550
Binding Contemporary
Accession no. QUR573
Comparative item New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS.M500.[1]

1. Ettinghausen 1954, fig. 344.
2. Rahman 1979, pl. 15.
3. At some stage the opening page was detached from the manuscript, cut down and mounted separately. After it entered the Khalili Collection it was restored and re-attached to the manuscript.

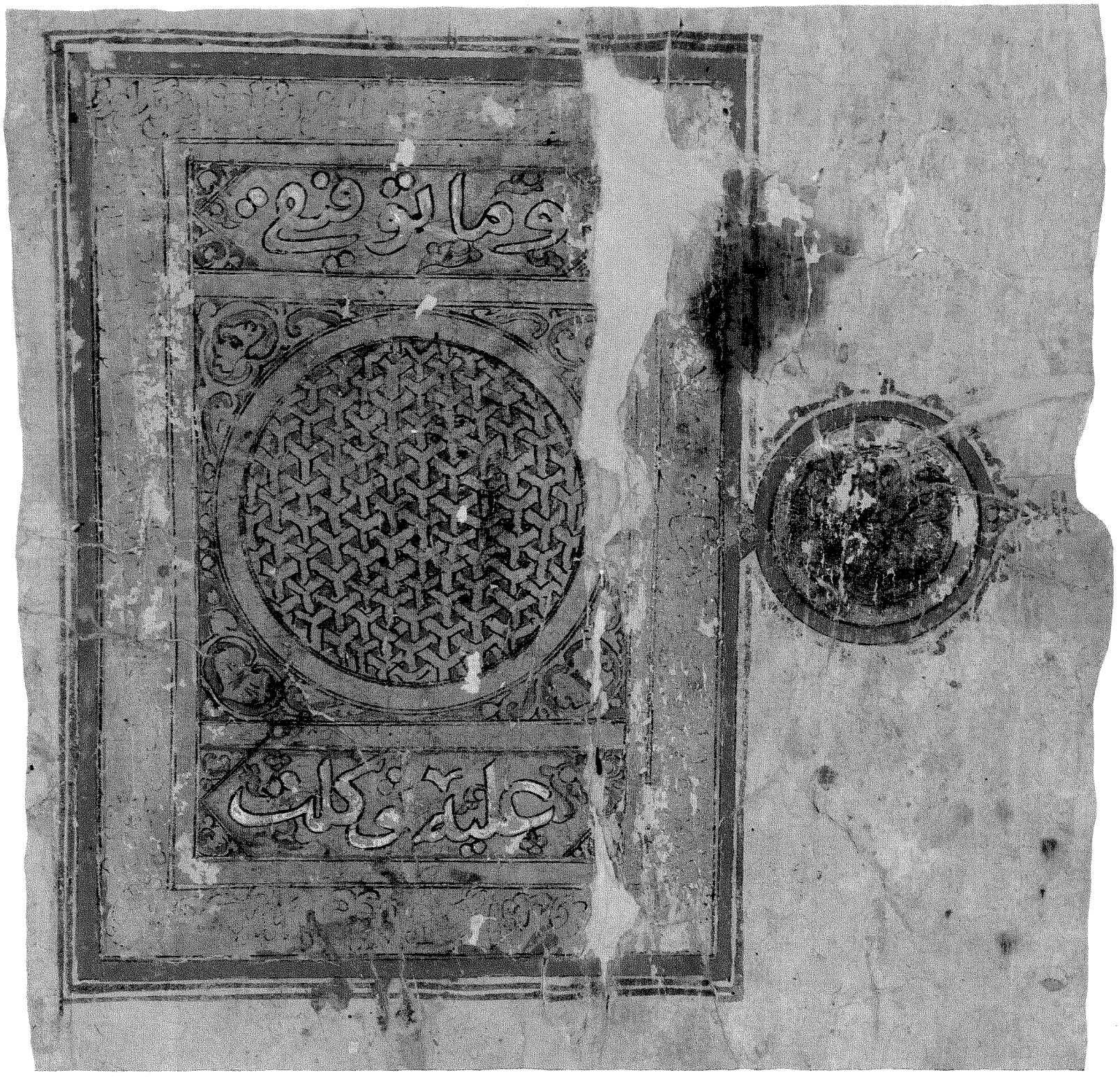
This manuscript belongs firmly within the Iranian tradition, but the illumination is conspicuously archaic; indeed, it is so different from that of other Qur'ans produced in Iran in the 13th century that it can only have been executed in a provincial centre where Muslim patronage had survived the Mongol invasion or in some area outside Iran which had previously been under strong Iranian influence. The style of *muḥaqqaq* in which the main text is written suggests that the latter is the case, for it has no parallel in other manuscripts produced in Iran in the 13th century. Furthermore, a notable feature of the script used is that *nūn*, *ṣād*, *sīn* and similar letters always extend beneath one or more following words, and these dramatic sublinear extensions are very reminiscent of later stone inscriptions from India.[2]

The text is preceded by a large petalled medallion bearing the words *Al-mujallad al-awwal* ('The first volume'). The opening pages of illumination consist of a central circle decorated with an interlinked Y-fret pattern over a red and green ground. There are palmettes in the corners, and panels above and below contain part of verse 88 of *Sūrat Hūd* (XI): *wa-mā tawfīqī illā bi'llāhi, 'alayhi tawakkaltu wa-ilayhi unību* ('And my success can only come from God. In Him I trust, and unto Him I look').[3] Running around the two central panels was an inscription which has been almost totally erased. The word *muṣḥaf* can still be read; as it does not occur in the Qur'an, the inscription cannot have been Qur'anic but may have given the verse count or a dedication.

The opening pages of text are fully illuminated in a style and with colours – red, green and gold – that are very reminiscent of the previous century. There are inscriptions in white *thulth* on each side. Those at the bottom of each page – *al-qudrah li'llāh* ('The power is of God') and *al-'aẓmah li'llāh* ('The might is of God') – are unusual in a Qur'an. The inscriptions at the sides read *qāla'l-nabī 'alayhi'l-salām, al-Qur'ān kalām Allāh ghayr makhlūq* ('The Prophet, peace be upon him, said, The Qur'an is the word of God, uncreated'). *Sūrat al-baqarah* (II) has no title but commences with a fine *basmalah* in gold and green.

Verses are punctuated by the word *āyah* ('verse') in red or green circles. The choice of colour seems to be arbitrary. Groups of five and ten verses remain unmarked, but each thirtieth (*juz'*) is indicated by a square symbol in the margin. Other divisions are written in the margin in red. Surah headings are in white with red, green and gold decoration and are accompanied by a medallion in the margin.

Between the lines there is a Persian translation in *naskh*. This changes size half-way through the manuscript, suggesting that it was copied by two people, and on folios 164b–165a several lines remain untranslated. The translation was added after the illumination, since at certain points it is written over the red rules which were placed round the text after it had been completed. Thus the translation may not be contemporary, but it can hardly date from later than the end of the 14th century on palaeographic grounds.



17 folio 1b

The final page has a panel with an obliterated inscription, which may have given the name of the illuminator. The colophon itself is damaged, but the date is still legible as AH667/AD1269. On the last page there is also an Ottoman endowment notice, which records the donation of the Qur'an to the mosque of Mustafa Paşa in 1550.[4] The existence of this inscription might be seen as casting doubt on the possible Indian origin of the manuscript, but there were both commercial and diplomatic contacts between Ottoman Turkey and the Muslim states of India, and other manuscripts are known to have made their way from India to Turkey.[5]

The black morocco binding is almost certainly original and can be related to earlier work from Iran, as discussed on page 77 above.

4 .According to the endowment notice, the Qur'an was for use in the *khānaqāh* associated with the mosque. Unfortunately, there is not enough circumstantial detail to identify which mosque of Mustafa Paşa was intended.

5 .According to information kindly supplied by F.Déroche, MS.Pers.65, 227 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris came from India via Turkey.

نستعين اهدنا الصراط
المستقيم صراط الذين
انعمت عليهم غير المغضوب
عليهم ولا الضالين امين

17 folio 3a

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الم ذلك الكتاب لا ريب فيه هدى

سوگند ... حروف معجم — این — که نیست — نیست شک — اندرو — گرامیست و بیان است و قبل راه نماینده است

للمتقين ۝ الذين يؤمنون بالغيب

مر مومنان را — آنانکه — بگرویدند — بخدای و قیامت ای نادیده

ويقيمون الصلوة ومما رزقناهم ينفقون

بر پای دارند — پنج نماز را و بگزارند تمامی آنرا — آنچ — دادیم ایشانرا — هزینه کنند

والذين يؤمنون بما انزل اليك وما انزل من

و آنانکه — بگرویدند — بدانچ — فرود فرستادند — سوی تو — و بدانچ — فرستادند

قبلك وبالآخرة هم يوقنون ۝ اولئك

پیش تو — و بروز رستخیز — ایشان — بی گمانند — ایشانند

على هدى من ربهم واولئك هم المفلحون

بر — گرامیست — از — خدای خویش — ایشانند — ایشان — رستگاران

ان الذين كفروا سواء عليهم انذرتهم

آنانکه — بر کفر ثابت کردند — یکسانست — بر ایشان — بی ترسانی تو ایشانرا

وقف

17 folio 3b

18

Single-volume Qur'an

Eastern Iran or northern India, AH669/AD 1270–71

363 folios, 36.6×28.6cm, with 13 lines to the page
Material A deep cream paper, laid, with 9–10 lines to the centimetre; occasional chain lines, and rib shadows 8cm apart
Text area 30.4×21.5cm
Interlinear spacing 2.5cm
Script Most of the main text is in naskh, the exception being Sūrat al-ikhlāṣ (CXIII), which is in Kufic; incidentals are in thulth and Kufic
Scribe Muhammad ibn Sulayman ibn Muhammad ibn Yunis al-Warraq
Patron Sharaf Sitti bint Amir Malik
Documentation A colophon, an endowment notice and a second notice concerning the patron
Binding Possibly Indian, 14th century AD
Accession no. QUR628
Comparative items Bahrami 1949, nos 52 and 53, figs 24 and 25; the manuscripts are in the Museum of Ancient Iran and the Gulistan Library in Tehran, but their shelfmarks are unrecorded

1. Juzjani, p.405.
2. Juzjani, p.405, note 11. Another possibility is that Sharaf Sitti's grandfather was the Turkish military commander Shir Malik, called Nusrat al-Din, who was governor of Multan in the middle years of the 13th century; see Juzjani–Raverty p.714, note 9, pp.767–8, etc.

This manuscript contains the remains of two double-page inscriptions naming the patron as 'the learned, worshipful and pious queen . . . Sharaf Sitti, daughter of Amir Malik, son of Shir'. Shir may well have been Asadallah Shir Malik Vajiri, an official of the Ghurid sultan Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad,[1] but little is known of Shir Malik, other than that he came from Vajiristan, in what is now Afghanistan;[2] there is no information on his son Amir Malik. Sharaf Sitti commissioned the Qur'an in AH669/AD 1270–71 from a professional scribe (*warrāq*), who may also have been the illuminator. The colophon contains no indication of where he copied the manuscript, but the style of illumination is that of eastern Iran in the second half of the 12th century. There are a number of late 12th- and early 13th-century Ghurid manuscripts with which to compare this decoration. Cat. 18 may have been produced in the area of Ghaznah, which in 1270 was under the control of the Kart ruler of Herat. Another possible provenance is northern India, which at this time was still under the control of the Ghurids' Turkish generals, the 'slave kings' of Delhi.

The first of the two inscriptions mentioning Sharaf Sitti is on folio 1a and consists of the left-hand half of a certificate of commissioning or an endowment notice written in gold *thulth* over a lighter gold ground. Panels above and below contain a central medallion with a quatrefoil motif flanked by arabesque scrolls. There is a narrow outer border with a gold arabesque meander scroll over a brown ground. The gold and colours are faded and discoloured. The second inscription referring to Sharaf Sitti is on the final page, folio 363b, and formed the right-hand half of an inscription calling blessings down on her. It is decorated in a similar manner.

The opening pages of text have larger panels above and below the verses, each panel being divided into three squares filled with arabesque decoration. The central squares contain inscriptions in the form of Kufic squares, which must be some of the earliest examples of that genre. The title of *Sūrat al-baqarah* (II) is written in gold Kufic under the text of *Sūrat al-fātiḥah* (I). In the margins are medallions with Kufic borders reading *Allāh al-malik* ('God is the King'). Other surah headings are in white *thulth* over tight gold arabesque scrolls with two large prehensile leaves to each circle, both enlivened with green. The scrolls are on a red ground with a gold border. Medallions are joined to the heading in its outer margin, surrounded by gold petals enlivened with red, and with knots or scrollwork in the centre. The place of revelation is written in red above the extension stroke of the *basmalah*.

The text is written in a large, rather angular *naskh* hand with the letter *kāf* in the elongated Kufic form. Vocalization is in black, with reading notes in red. Verses are punctuated by gold rosettes with red and blue dots. Each group of five verses is marked by a half-palmette in the text and a palmette-tree in the margin, while groups of ten verses are indicated by circular medallions in the margin. Folio 27 is a replacement. The text is divided into sevenths (*asbā'*), marked by gold Kufic inscriptions in the margins. The three openings that mark the half-way point in the text are fully illuminated. The binding is in brown leather with a central eight-pointed star containing an octagon.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الر ذلك الكتاب لا ريب فيه هدى للمتقين
الذين يؤمنون بالغيب ويقيمون الصلوة ومما
رزقناهم ينفقون والذين يؤمنون بما انزل اليك
وما انزل من قبلك وبالاخرة هم يوقنون اولئك
على هدى من ربهم واولئك هم المفلحون

حقًّا لَهُمْ دَرَجَاتٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ وَمَغْفِرَةٌ وَرِزْقٌ كَرِيمٌ
كَمَا أَخْرَجَكَ رَبُّكَ مِنْ بَيْتِكَ بِالْحَقِّ وَإِنَّ فَرِيقًا
مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لَكَارِهُونَ يُجَادِلُونَكَ فِي الْحَقِّ بَعْدَ
مَا تَبَيَّنَ كَأَنَّمَا يُسَاقُونَ إِلَى الْمَوْتِ وَهُمْ يَنْظُرُونَ
وَإِذْ يَعِدُكُمُ اللَّهُ إِحْدَى الطَّائِفَتَيْنِ أَنَّهَا لَكُمْ وَتَوَدُّونَ
أَنَّ غَيْرَ ذَاتِ الشَّوْكَةِ تَكُونُ لَكُمْ وَيُرِيدُ اللَّهُ أَنْ يُحِقَّ
الْحَقَّ بِكَلِمَاتِهِ وَيَقْطَعَ دَابِرَ الْكَافِرِينَ لِيُحِقَّ الْحَقَّ وَ
يُبْطِلَ الْبَاطِلَ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْمُجْرِمُونَ إِذْ تَسْتَغِيثُونَ
رَبَّكُمْ فَاسْتَجَابَ لَكُمْ أَنِّي مُمِدُّكُمْ بِأَلْفٍ مِنَ
الْمَلَائِكَةِ مُرْدِفِينَ وَمَا جَعَلَهُ اللَّهُ إِلَّا بُشْرَى وَلِتَطْمَئِنَّ
قُلُوبُكُمْ وَمَا النَّصْرُ إِلَّا مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ
حَكِيمٌ إِذْ يُغَشِّيكُمُ النُّعَاسَ أَمَنَةً مِنْهُ وَيُنَزِّلُ عَلَيْكُمْ
مِنَ السَّمَاءِ مَاءً لِيُطَهِّرَكُمْ بِهِ وَيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمْ رِجْزَ

لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُونَ ۝ وَاذْكُرْ رَبَّكَ فِي نَفْسِكَ تَضَرُّعًا
وَخِيفَةً وَدُونَ الْجَهْرِ مِنَ الْقَوْلِ بِالْغُدُوِّ وَالْآصَالِ وَ
لَا تَكُنْ مِنَ الْغَافِلِينَ ۝ إِنَّ الَّذِينَ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ لَا يَسْتَكْبِرُونَ
عَنْ عِبَادَتِهِ وَيُسَبِّحُونَهُ وَلَهُ يَسْجُدُونَ

سورة الانفال مدنية

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ
يَسْأَلُونَكَ عَنِ الْأَنْفَالِ قُلِ الْأَنْفَالُ لِلَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ
فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَأَصْلِحُوا ذَاتَ بَيْنِكُمْ وَأَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَ
رَسُولَهُ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ ۝ إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُونَ الَّذِينَ إِذَا
ذُكِرَ اللَّهُ وَجِلَتْ قُلُوبُهُمْ وَإِذَا تُلِيَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ آيَاتُهُ
زَادَتْهُمْ إِيمَانًا وَعَلَىٰ رَبِّهِمْ يَتَوَكَّلُونَ ۝ الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ
الصَّلَاةَ وَمِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ يُنْفِقُونَ ۝ أُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ

The Western Islamic World

Islamic Iberia and North Africa, AD 1000–1250

During the 10th century AD the Muslim-ruled portions of the Iberian peninsula became one of the most civilized parts of Europe, thanks to many years of enlightened rule by the Umayyad caliphs 'Abd al-Rahman III and his son al-Hakam II. Although al-Hakam's successor, Hisham II, was a mere puppet in the hands of his chief minister, Muhammad ibn Abi Amir, the Umayyad caliphate continued to prosper, and its authority was extended by Ibn Abi Amir at the expense of the Christian kingdoms in the north of the peninsula. This golden age came to an end in the early years of the 11th century, when the Umayyad state collapsed and Islamic power in Iberia was fractured beyond repair, with twenty or more petty kingdoms contending with each other and with the equally fractious Christians pressing down from the north. Islamic Iberia was only spared a Christian reconquest by the arrival of the Almoravids from

19 folios 26b–27a

Africa in 1086. They, and the Almohads who followed them in 1145, united the Muslim-ruled territories in Iberia with their homeland in North Africa and fostered a unified Islamic culture. This political union was broken when the Almohads suffered a catastrophic defeat at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. Within a few years all the major Islamic cities of Iberia had been captured, and Muslim authority endured only in the kingdom of Granada.

Qur'ans from Islamic Iberia are few in number compared with those from North Africa. Many thousands were deliberately destroyed by the Christian conquerors, and others may have perished in the periodic chaos brought about by political collapse. None has survived in Spain itself; only a handful remain elsewhere, taken to North Africa or the East by refugees and passed down by families of Andalusian origin as treasured mementoes of a glorious past.

No Qur'an known to have been copied in Iberia is in Kufic script, although Kufic Qur'ans from North Africa survive in considerable numbers, including some that bear inscriptions documenting their provenance.[1] This pattern of survival might well be explained by wholesale destruction of Qur'ans in both Kufic and the *andalusī* script following the collapse of Umayyad rule, but if we assume that Kufic Qur'ans were produced at the same rate in Iberia as they were elsewhere in the Islamic world during the 8th and 9th centuries, the law of averages dictates that at least one or two fragments would have survived. Unfortunately, it was exceptional for

19

Qur'an fragment

Iberia or North Africa,
circa AD 1150–1250

103 folios, 8×8 cm, with 27 lines to the page
Material Vellum of a uniform buff colour
Text area 6×5.8 cm
Interlinear spacing 0.3 cm
Script The main text in andalusī, incidentals in Kufic
Binding Modern
Accession no. QUR307
Comparative item Dublin Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1443.[1]

1. Arberry 1967, cat.no. 121, pl. 44.

the place where a Qur'an had been copied to be mentioned in the colophon, and it may be impossible to identify any Kufic Qur'ans from Muslim Iberia. However, François Déroche has recently discovered a Kufic Qur'an from Muslim Sicily. It has a distinctive method of vocalization that occurs in other manuscripts. Further research of the same detailed nature may lead to the identification of Kufic Qur'ans from the Maghrib, including examples from the Iberian peninsula.[2]

The earliest dated Qur'an that is attributable to Islamic Iberia was produced in 1090.[3] The survival rate improves when we come to the 12th and 13th centuries, for 13 Qur'ans with dates in the 12th century and four with dates in the early 13th century can be assigned an Iberian provenance. With one exception, all the known copies from this period were written on parchment in *andalusī* script, a small, angular, archaic-looking hand in which the forms of letters such as *kāf, ṣād* and *ḍād* are rather elongated.[4] It is quite different in appearance from *maghribī*, which was written with much greater flourish and was used mostly in North Africa. The compactness of *andalusī* and the relatively small format of the manuscripts – they are invariably square in shape – often make them difficult to read, even though the text is always written with full diacriticals and vocalization. Vocalization in *andalusī* Qur'ans is precisely indicated by a system different from that used in the East. *Hamzat al-qaṭ'* is usually indicated by a red dot, for example, and *hamzat al-waṣl* by a green dot.[5] Unlike later Qur'ans in *maghribī* script, *andalusī* Qur'ans have diacritical points on final *qāf, fā'* and *nūn*.[6] It is not clear when the practice of omitting the diacritical points in this position began. As far as we know, diacritical points are not omitted in 13th-century Morrocan Qur'ans, but this may be because the scribes of the surviving manuscripts were refugee Andalusians following the Andalusian practice.

Many 12th- and 13th-century Iberian Qur'ans have illuminated frontispieces and finispieces, and these show a wide range of compositions, although the constituent elements are derived almost entirely from the limited decorative vocabulary of Kufic Qur'an illumination. Kufic script of a very simple type was usually employed in surah titles, which were sometimes framed by a decorative panel but often have only an ornamental medallion beside them in the margin. By this time surah headings without framing panels were unusual elsewhere in the Islamic world, as were the use of parchment and the placing of the first two surahs on the same page, practices that were still current in the Maghrib.

Nine 12th- and 13th-century Qur'ans from the Maghrib bear a record of their places of origin. Six were written in the 12th century. The finest copy was produced in Cordoba under the Almoravids, another was copied in Ceuta, and the other four in Valencia. The three copies from the 13th century were written in Seville and Marrakesh. The other five examples bear dates in the 12th and 13th centuries but no record of where they were produced. Some were probably made in Iberia, but it is extremely difficult to distinguish between Andalusian and North African Qur'ans of this period solely on the basis of script and illumination, no doubt partly because of the constant exchange of population between the two regions. The Qur'an copied in Marrakesh in 1202–3 illustrates this difficulty. It was written by a scribe called Muhammad al-Sharishi, whose *nisbah* was derived from the town of Sharish (now Jerez de la Frontera), which was still in Muslim hands at this date; he was clearly an Andalusian living in Marrakesh who followed Andalusian scribal practices. Nevertheless, some authorities believe that it is possible to attribute certain 12th-century Qur'ans in *andalusī* script to Iberia on the basis of their similarity to Qur'ans of undoubted Andalusian provenance.[7] North African Qur'ans do exhibit at least one orthographic usage not found in those from Iberia, the placing

of a red dot under the letter to indicate *imālah*,[8] but there is insufficient evidence to determine when this usage first began.[9]

Stylistic variations in the *andalusī* script appear to have been minimal. There is certainly no observable difference between the style used in the four Valencia Qur'ans and that used in the only other 12th-century copy known to have been made in a Spanish city, the one produced in Cordoba in 1143. However, some Qur'ans written in *andalusī* are notable for the small size of the script used; copies of this type may have been carried as talismans. Cat. 19, for example, was written in an *andalusī* script so small that it is difficult to read. The hand is frail and shaky, and the vocalization is crudely yet laboriously applied in red. The verses are unpunctuated, but groups of five verses are indicated in the margin by a gold letter *hā'*, and groups of ten verses are marked by a circle, while surah headings are in gold with an arabesque palmette. It may be the work of an elderly person, copying the Qur'an as a pious act, rather than the work of a professional scribe. The sophisticated products of professional Maghribi calligraphers are exemplified by the Qur'ans made in Valencia in the 12th century.

1. For example, the '*muṣḥaf al-ḥāḍinah*' copied in Tunis in AH 410/AD 1010; see Lings & Safadi 1976, cat.no. 25.
2. See volume 1 of this catalogue. The system of vocalization used in the Palermo Qur'an appears in a dispersed Kufic Qur'an that D.S. Rice wished to attribute to Spain on the basis of its polychrome ornament; see Rice 1955, p. 29, note 2.
3. For details of this manuscript and those discussed immediately below, see the table on p. 89.
4. The exception is item 3 in the table on p. 89.
5. A yellow dot was employed for *hamzat al-qaṭ'* in cat. 20.
6. Brockett 1984, p. 42.
7. Lings 1961–2.
8. *Imālah* is the pronunciation of *a* as *e*.
9. Brockett 1984, p. 43.

The Qur'ans from Valencia

The group of four dated Qur'ans produced in Valencia in the second half of the 12th century includes three by members of the same family.[1] The earliest of these is that copied in 1161 by 'Abdallah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali. He is to be identified with the Abu Muhammad 'Abdallah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Mufrij ibn Sahl al-Ansari, called Ibn Ghattus, who is known to us from the *Takmilah* of Ibn al-'Abbar.[2] Ibn Ghattus had two sons who became calligraphers, and one of these was the copyist of the Valencian Qur'ans of 1168 and 1182, the first of which he also illuminated. In the colophon of the first he calls himself Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah ibn

Dated Qur'ans from the Maghrib

1		AH 483/AD 1090	Uppsala, University Library, MS.O BJ. 48.[3]
2		AH 500/AD 1106–7	Escorial Library, MS.arab.1397.[4]
3		AH 534/AD 1139–40	Christie's 1990, lot.no.46.[5]
4	Cordoba	AH 538/AD 1143	Istanbul University Library, MS.A6755.[6]
5	Valencia	AH 557/AD 1161	Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MS.196.[7]
6	Valencia	AH 564/AD 1168	National Library, Tunis, MS.Ahmadiyyah 13727.[8]
7		AH 565/AD 1170	Collection of the Marquess of Bute.[9]
8	Valencia	AH 578/AD 1182	Istanbul University Library, MS.A.6754.[10]
9	probably Valencia	AH 580/AD 1184–5	Istanbul University Library, MS.A6752.[11]
10	Ceuta	AH 587/AD 1191	Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MS.R27.[12]
11		AH 591/AD 1195	Uppsala, University Library, MS.O VET. 77.[13]
12		AH 596/AD 1199	Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MS.R36.[14]
13	Valencia	AH 596/AD 1199	Cat.20.
14		AH 598/AD 1202	Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MS.R31.[15]
15	Marrakesh	AH 599/AD 1202–3	Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MS.R33.[16]
16	Seville	AH 624/AD 1226	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibiliothek, COD.OR.62.[17]
17	Marrakesh	AH 635/AD 1238	Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MSS R21–R24.[18]

Muhammad ibn Ghattus, and in the colophon of the second Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Ghattus, while Ibn al-'Abbar gives his *kunyah* as Abu 'Abdallah. Ibn al-'Abbar was acquainted with Ibn Ghattus the younger and informs us that the calligrapher devoted himself entirely to the production of Qur'ans, crediting him with making 'a thousand' copies. In many ways he seems to have had the same status in al-Andalus as Yaqut al-Musta'simi had further east, and admiration for his work must have helped it survive.

The Ibn Ghattus family were not the only calligraphers at work in Valencia in the 12th century. According to Ibn al-'Abbar, Abu Hamid ibn Abi Zahir, the imam of the mosque known as the Rahbat al-Qadi, was a pupil of Ibn Ghattus.[19] So, quite possibly, was the master who worked on the fourth Qur'an in the Valencian group, cat.20. Dated 1199 and made for Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Bitash (or Biyatush) al-Makhzumi, this manuscript was copied by Yusuf ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-Wahid ibn Yusuf ibn Khaldun. The scribe is not known to us from any other source; it is tempting to identify him as a member of the same family as the famous historian Ibn Khaldun (*b* 1332), but there is no proof that he was. Although Ibn Khaldun's family came from Seville, not Valencia, his ancestors were said to have been among the original Arab settlers of Iberia, and it is not impossible that there was a distant branch in Valencia.

Yusuf's patron, Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Makhzumi, was evidently not of Arab – or even Berber – descent, as one of his ancestors was Bitash or Biyatush, probably an Arabic form of the Latin name Beatus. This would seem to indicate that, like the majority of Iberian Muslims,

he came of European stock. His ancestor was presumably of some note, for his descendants would not otherwise have mentioned him. His *nisbah* is not clearly written, but it seems to be al-Makhzumi, which would normally indicate Arab descent. This clearly conflicts with the Christian European element in his name but can be explained in various ways. His ancestors may have been clients of an Arab tribe and adopted the name, or, like most Iberian Muslims of Berber or European origin, they may have claimed Arab descent through mythical ancestors for reasons of prestige or self-protection or simply because they came to identify with the predominantly Arab cultural ethos prevalent in al-Andalus, particularly in the 10th century.

The illumination of cat.20 consists of a frontispiece, surah headings, marginal medallions and an illuminated colophon. Although faded, the frontispiece is constructed in a very similar manner to that of the Qur'an copied and illuminated by Ibn Ghattus the younger in 1168.[20] Although the designs are not identical, both consist of a single unit repeating four times around a central motif. We do not know if Yusuf ibn 'Abdallah was a pupil of Ibn Ghattus, but some connection would seem highly likely. The frontispiece and finispiece in the other Qur'an copied by Ibn Ghattus the younger in 1182 is more centrifugal in emphasis, like other 12th-century designs used for this purpose. If, as seems likely, Ibn Ghattus was responsible for the illumination as well as the copying of this later Qur'an, it shows that he had a wide repertoire of compositions at his disposal. The design of the frontispiece of cat.20 is even closer to that of the Qur'an copied in Ceuta in 1191. The scribe of that manuscript, Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Shu'ayb al-Ansari, may have been an Andalusian living in Ceuta, or he may have been a North African. If the latter was the case, it shows how widespread the use of these designs was and how difficult it is to ascribe a manuscript to Iberia or North Africa without an explicit reference in the colophon to the place where it was produced. The frontispiece of the Cordoban Qur'an is rather different in concept to the Valencian compositions, but, as no other Qur'ans from Cordoba have survived, it is difficult to determine whether Cordoban artists had their own tradition distinct from that of Valencia.

Cat.20 commences in the usual Andalusian fashion with the whole of the first surah and the beginning of the second arranged one above the other on the same page. The surah headings are quite simply decorated in comparison with other Valencian Qur'ans. In the Qur'an of 1182 and that of 1184–5, which is probably Valencian, the headings of the first two surahs are divided into three sections, the outer sections being filled with interlace that combines rather more complex motifs. The headings of cat.20 are written over scroll backgrounds and are surrounded by gold strapwork borders. The background of *Sūrat al-fātiḥah* is composed of scrolls similar to those on the *Sūrat al-fātiḥah* heading of the Cordoban Qur'an, which, like that of cat.20, consists of a single panel. The other surah headings in cat.20 are accompanied by a marginal ornament consisting of a medallion made up of arabesque palmettes whose interstices are painted blue or filled with coloured dots. No two are alike. The most interesting occurs on folio 99a, where the medallion is divided into an inner and outer section separated by a band of gold strapwork. The interstices of the inner half have red and green dots, while those of the outer half are painted blue. Where a division of the text into *ḥizbs* (sixtieths) coincides with the beginning of a surah, the medallion becomes a circle inscribed with the word *ḥizb*. The devices marking other *ḥizb* divisions are always circular, while those marking a half-*ḥizb* are always in the form of a pointed circle containing the words *niṣf ḥizb* and surmounted by a golden palmette; there are normally two stylized acanthus leaves in white above and below the wording. The ground is usually red or blue, but there are examples where red

and green or blue and green have been used. Wherever blue is used, a white treble-dot motif is also employed as decoration.

The colophon pages resemble those of the Cordoban Qur'an and are presumably of a standard 12th-century type. The text of the colophon is copied in gold *thulth* with the tips of the letters painted red, a technique found in other manuscripts of this and later periods.[21] The text is undecorated apart from the addition of a red treble-dot motif between the lines. The colophons are surrounded with parallel white bands which cross over in the centre of each side and interlink at the corners. Between the bands are cartouches filled with scrolls. A similar programme was employed in the Cordoban Qur'an, which has identical scrolls in the cartouche areas.

Cat. 20 is thus firmly in the tradition of Valencian 12th-century Qur'an illumination, but has interesting parallels with the Cordoban Qur'an of 1143, suggesting that there was a unified style of Qur'anic illumination throughout Islamic Iberia in the 12th century. The manuscript provides more examples of the decorative repertoire of 12th-century Andalusian manuscript illuminators, and these are all the more important for being in a manuscript whose date and provenance are firmly established and whose scribe and patron are named.

1. It has been suggested that London, British Library, OR.MS.1270 was also produced in Valencia; see Lings 1961–2.
2. See Ibn al-'Abbar, nos 927, 1370; Ribera y Tarragó 1928.
3. Uppsala 1982, cat.no. 1.
4. Casiri 1760, cat.no. 1396.
5. This appears to be the earliest *andalusī* or *maghribī* Qur'an written on paper.
6. Karatay 1951, cat.no. 13 and pls VII–VIII.
7. Moritz 1905, pl. 47.
8. Chabbouh 1989, cat.no. 1 and pl. 1.
9. On loan to London, Victoria & Albert Museum.
10. Karatay 1951, cat.no. 14 and pls IX–X; Ettinghausen 1962, p. 172; Lings 1976, pls 100–1 .
11. Karatay 1951, cat.no. 15
12. Karatay 1962, cat.no. 298.
13. Uppsala 1982, cat.no. 2.
14. Karatay 1962, cat.no. 300.
15. Karatay 1962, cat.no. 296.
16. Karatay 1962, cat.no. 299; Lings 1976, pls 102–3.
17. Munich 1982, cat.no. 56 and fig. 18.
18. Karatay 1962, cat.nos 306–9.
19. Ribera y Tarragó 1928, p. 305.
20. Chabbouh 1989, pl. 1. This reproduction is very poor, and I am indebted to Dr Sabiha Khemir for supplying me with slides.
21. In the colophon of the Cordoban Qur'an and in the surah headings of Istanbul, Museum of Turkish & Islamic Arts, MS. 360; see Lings 1976, pl. 98.

20

Single-volume Qur'an

Valencia, AH 596/AD 1199–1200

122 folios, 17 × 16 cm, with 25 lines to the page
Material Vellum of a uniform buff colour
Text area 11.5 × 11.9 cm
Interlinear spacing 0.5 cm
Script The main text in andalusī, incidentals in Kufic and thulth
Scribe Yusuf ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-Wahid ibn Yusuf ibn Khaldun
Patron Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Biyatush al-Makhzumi
Documentation A colophon
Binding A modern facsimile
Accession no. QUR318
Comparative items See table on p.89

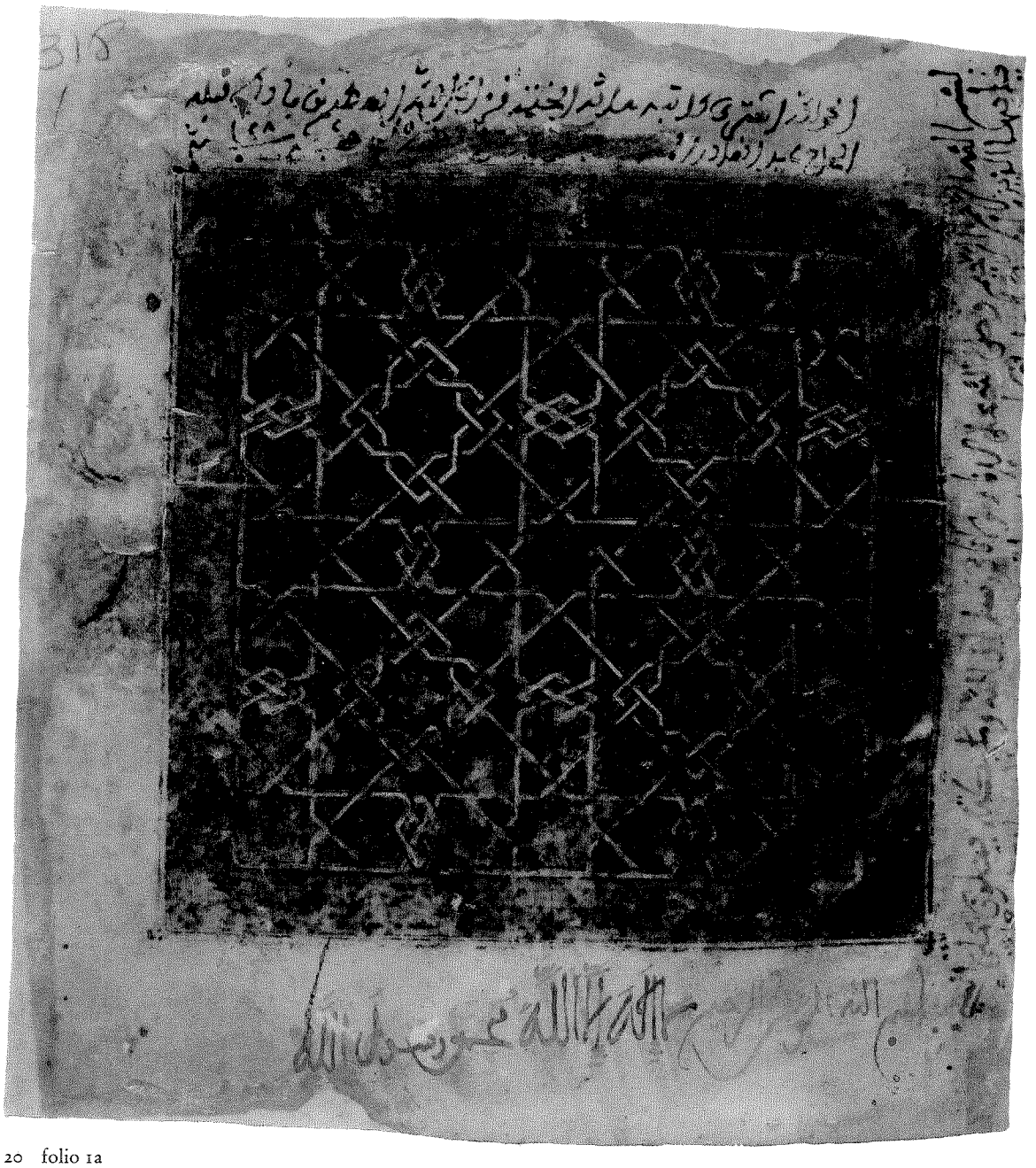
This manuscript is the work of a hitherto unkown master who worked in Muslim Valencia, Yusuf ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-Wahid ibn Yusuf ibn Khaldun. His name and that of his patron, Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Biyatush al-Makhzumi are given in the colophon, which extends over two pages and is written in gold *naskh*, with the tips of the letters painted red. The colophon inscriptions are surrounded by bands of white strapwork, knotted at intervals to form cartouches that are filled with s-shaped scroll fragments. There is an outer border of gold interlace.

Folio 1a forms the left-hand half of a frontispiece. The design is based on a double trellis of white bands, with one set diagonally to the other. It can be read as a repeating pattern of four six-pointed stars set within cruciform motifs framed by squares. The same composition is used in another Qur'an from Valencia dated 1168 that is now in the National Library in Tunis.

The first surah and the beginning of the second are set out on the same page, folio 1b, after the Andalusian fashion of the time. Their headings are in white Kufic over two different types of scrolls. The title of the first surah is set against a red ground, and the title of the second is on a blue ground. Both panels have borders of gold strapwork. Other surah headings were written in gold in a decorative variety of Western Kufic; the only ornamentation is in the form of a palmette or a circular medallion in the margin. Many of these have been trimmed, but the surviving portions show a wide variety of motifs. The colours used are mostly blue and gold, but a bright green and a wine-red also appear.

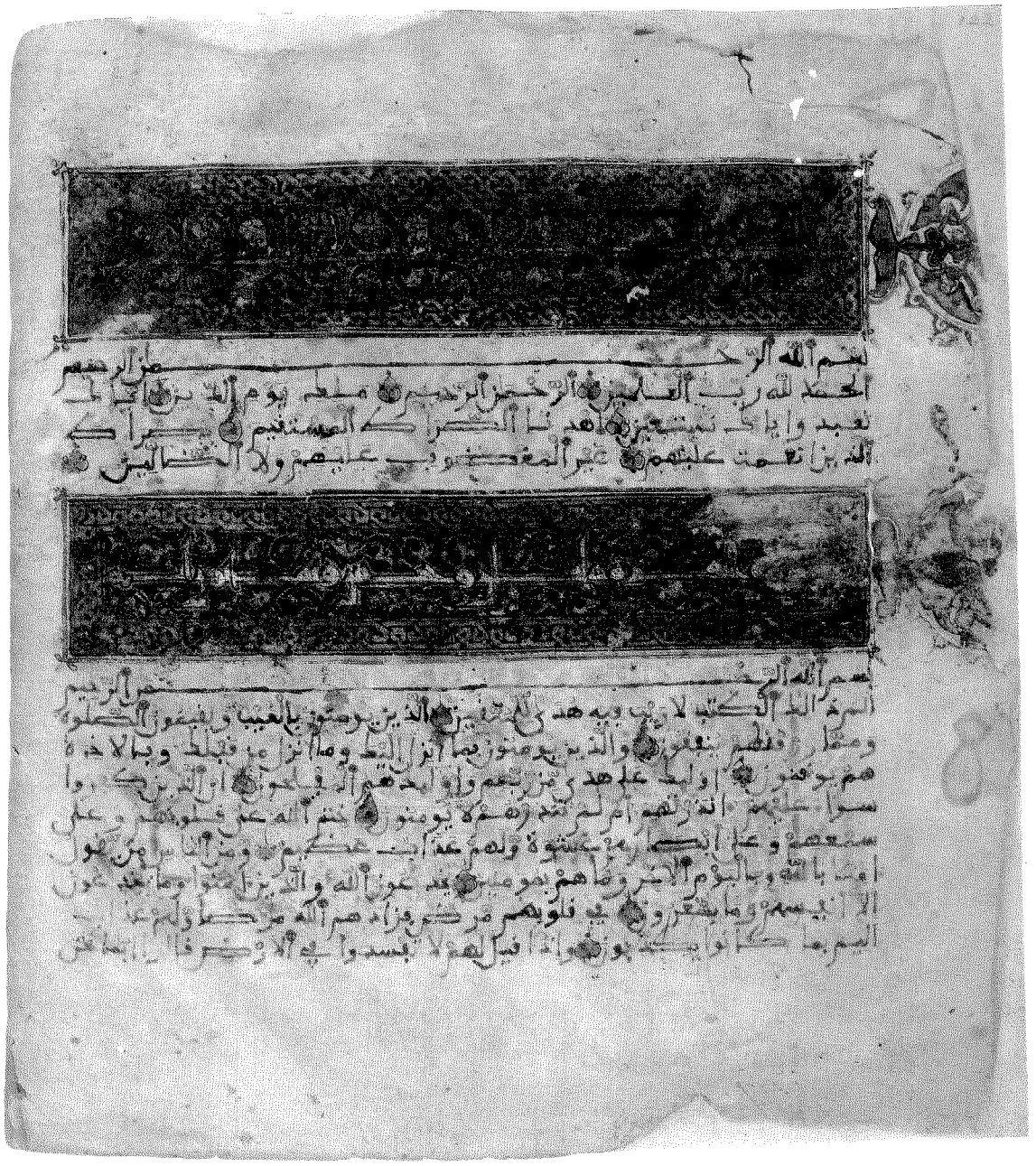
The manuscript is copied on parchment in a fine *andalusī* hand which has faded in some places and may have been overwritten in others. The vocalization is in red, and other orthographic signs are in blue, apart from the green dot used for *hamzat al-waṣl* and the yellow dot used for *hamzat al-qaṭ'*. Verses are generally unpunctuated, but groups of five verses are marked in the text by a pointed oval, and groups of ten verses by a circle. The text is divided into 60 *ḥizbs* and 120 half-*ḥizbs*, which are indicated by devices in the margin, circular in the case of *ḥizbs* and pointed in the case of half-*ḥizbs*. These have white or gold inscriptions in Kufic, reading *ḥizb* and *niṣf ḥizb* respectively.

There are a number of later inscriptions referring to the purchase of the Qur'an on folio 1a, and a Prophetic *ḥadīth* on the final page, folio 122b.



20 folio 1a

20 folios 121b–122a



*20 folio 1b

20 folios 93b–94a

20 folios 110b–111a

PART II

AD 1300–1400

Iran and Iraq: The Ilkhanid Legacy

The reigns of the Ilkhanid rulers Ghazan Khan and Öljeytü in the early years of the 14th century AD marked the political and cultural high point of the Mongol state in Iran. By 1340 the Ilkhanid empire had collapsed, and Iraq and Iran were controlled by a number of minor dynasties; these fought one another until the conquests of Timur at the end of the 14th century brought them to a rapid end. Despite the political fragmentation of the region, major developments in all branches of the visual arts occurred during these years, most notably in book painting, but also in calligraphy and illumination.

Manuscript illumination shows a marked change of style over the period. At the beginning of the century designs were large and vividly and finely painted and were based on simple geometric forms supplemented by strong, well-articulated arabesques, multi-coloured petal borders and heavy bands of strapwork. The chief exponent of this type of work was the Baghdadi illuminator Muhammad ibn Aybak, who was responsible for the illumination of two of the most outstanding medieval manuscripts ever made. One was a Qur'an produced between 1302 and 1308 for an unnamed patron, most probably Ghazan Khan; the other was the Qur'an made for Öljeytü between 1306 and about 1313.[1] Qur'an decoration in this style continued at Baghdad until the 1340s, albeit on a reduced scale. Three Qur'ans of this period were embellished by a master called Muhammad ibn Sayf al-Din al-Naqqash, the only illuminator working in Baghdad at this time to give his name.[2]

We know less about what was happening elsewhere in the Ilkhanid domains, but we do have fine Qur'ans produced in Mosul and Hamadan. The rather traditional style that appears to have endured in Mosul is exemplified by the Qur'an made there for Sultan Öljeytü, while another Qur'an made for the same patron, this time in Hamadan, is painted in a totally different manner. The illumination is delicate and restrained, with a deliberately limited palette which contrasts strongly with the great imperial and sub-imperial Qur'ans made in cities further west.[3] The geometric frontispiece, so common in the work of Muhammad ibn Aybak, had virtually disappeared by the end of the century. In the 1330s, multi-volume Qur'ans began to be produced that had no frontispiece at all. The *recto* of the first folio was left blank, and the illumination commenced on the first page of text. One of the earliest examples of this new arrangement is a manuscript dated 1334 and probably made in Tabriz.[4] A slightly later manuscript made in Maraghah in 1338–9 contains the first example of a rosette or roundel on the first page, an innovation that was to become almost universal.[5]

The nature of Shiraz work in the first half of the 14th century has been difficult to judge, as until now only one Qur'an with a Shirazi provenance had been identified; it was made for Tashi Khatun, the wife and mother of Inju'id rulers of the city, and is dated AH 745–6/AD 1344–6.[6] The redating of an important 30-part Qur'an, four parts of which form cat. 29–30 below, has shed new light on the development of Qur'an decoration in this city. By the 1380s, at least some illuminators in Shiraz were working in a style that is usually associated with manuscripts produced there in the following century, under the Timurids. A dark blue ground was used, and it was covered with small gold vegetal arabesques and floral sprays with coloured blossoms.

Another manuscript catalogued below, cat. 31, is quite clearly from the same workshop as cat. 30. It contains only surahs I, VI, XVIII, XXXIV AND XXXV, a popular selection used for prayer books from the earliest times, and bears a spurious colophon attributing the manuscript to the hand of Pir Yahya. This is presumably a reference to Yahya al-Jamali al-Sufi, a well-known calligrapher who flourished in Shiraz in the mid-14th century, but the author of the colophon gives a date late in the 15th century! It is not impossible that Yahya al-Sufi was the scribe, as

the manuscript was produced between 1335 and 1354, most probably in Shiraz. It is known that Yahya lived in the city for at least part of this period, for he was the scribe of the multi-part Qur'an made there for Tashi Khatun in 1344–6. A direct comparison between the script in the Qur'an and that in cat. 31 is not possible, as the Qur'an is in *muḥaqqaq*, while cat. 31 is in *naskh* and an informal *thulth*.

Besides the group of manuscripts that can be associated with Shiraz in the 14th century, the material described below includes a number of important pieces that were signed by or are attributable to outstanding calligraphers of the period. Cat. 25 is almost certainly the work of 'Abdallah al-Sayrafi, whose name appears in the colophon, while cat. 22 consists of two folios from a 30-part Qur'an that was divided many years ago and is now dispersed among several collections.[7] The Qur'an was magnificently written in two sizes of a *rayḥān*-type script and has vivid illumination. The marginal ornaments marking groups of five and ten verses are particularly fine. No colophon page has survived from any of the sections of this Qur'an, but two manuscripts in the Topkapı Palace Library in Istanbul, one of which contains the same selection of surahs as cat. 31, bear an attribution to Arghun al-Kamili and the date AH 706/AD 1306–7.[8] Although this attribution has been added later, it is worth taking seriously, as Arghun was a master of *rayḥān*, and there are several Qur'ans in this script that are most probably in his hand.[9] Furthermore, the type of illumination in the manuscript, particularly the fine devices used to mark groups of five and ten verses, fits in well with contemporary Baghdadi manuscripts illuminated by Muhammad ibn Aybak.

Cat. 21 may be the only other surviving example of a Qur'an copied by 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Husayni, who was the scribe of the famous Qur'an made in Mosul for Sultan Öljeytü in the first decade of the 14th century;[10] if so, this is one of the few instances where we have two Qur'ans from the hand of the same 14th-century calligrapher. A persistent problem affecting the study of 14th-century manuscripts is the lack of more than one example of the work of each master. Although only a single folio, cat. 23 is still of great interest, as the gold script and the verse markers are identical to those of Öljeytü's Mosul Qur'an, and it too may be the work of 'Ali ibn Muhammad.

Cat. 26 contains seven folios from Part 12 of another 30-part Qur'an, sections of which are in the collections of the Victoria & Albert Museum and Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan.[11] Like many Ilkhanid Qur'ans, this manuscript has been attributed to Mamluk Egypt, but it has several features that undermine this attribution. The script used is a gold *rayḥān* with blue vocalization, a type rarely found in Mamluk manuscripts of any period but quite common in 14th-century Ilkhanid Qur'ans. In addition, Mamluk manuscripts of the first half of the 14th century do not normally have rules framing the text, although such frames were a relatively common feature of Ilkhanid Qur'ans. Manuscripts of a similar type date from the 1330s.

1. James 1988, cat.nos 39 and 40.
2. Only one Qur'an (Istanbul, Beyazıt Library, MS. 8056) is signed by him, but two others (Istanbul, Museum of Turkish & Islamic Arts, MS. 452; and Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1498) are in exactly the same style; see James 1988, cat.nos 62, 65 and 66.
3. James 1988, cat.nos 42 and 45.
4. James 1988, cat.no. 55.
5. James 1988, cat.no. 61.
6. James 1988, cat.no. 69.
7. James 1988, cat.no. 74.
8. MSS EH 222 and R 69; see Karatay 1962, cat.nos 135 and 194.
9. James, 1988, cat.nos 49, 53, 62, 65 and 66.
10. See pp. 99–101 below.
11. London, Victoria & Albert Museum, MS. M.4.675–76; and Geneva, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection, MS. CAL. 87.

A Master from Mosul

One of the major problems in the study of medieval Islamic calligraphy is the lack of comparative material in the hand of the same scribe. Although a scribe would have produced many manuscripts in the course of his life, it is often the case that only a single specimen of his work survives. Other masters who flourished before the beginning of the 15th century are known by name but not by their work, which has either been entirely lost or has yet to be identified. Their renown rests entirely on the word of later Iranian and Ottoman writers such as Qadi Ahmad, author of the *Gulistān-i hunar*, and Müstakimzâde, the compiler of the *Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn*. It is a curious paradox that a third group of calligraphers whose names were not recorded by contemporary or later writers are known to us only from the magnificent examples of their work that survive. One such calligrapher is 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Husayni, a scribe associated with one of the most important artistic projects of the first two decades of the 14th century.[1]

In 1304 the Mongol prince Muhammad Khudabandah Öljeytü succeeded his brother Ghazan Khan as ruler of the Ilkhanid empire. Shortly after his accession, Öljeytü began to construct for himself a vast and magnificent tomb at the centre of a great religious foundation. He selected a site in his capital, Sultaniyyah in northern Iran, and building commenced in July 1305 and was completed by 1314. Although Öljeytü's funerary complex is now in ruins, there can be no doubt that this monument was once one of the most original edifices of the Ilkhanid period. Soon after work on his tomb began, the sultan commissioned three imposing 30-part Qur'ans.[2] Like the mausoleum, these manuscripts took several years to complete. The first was commissioned in 1306 from a calligrapher of Baghdad. The scribe's name is not recorded in any of the surviving sections of the work, but he was probably the great master Ahmad ibn al-Suhrawardi, a pupil of Yaqut al-Musta'simi. The second was produced by a scribe and illuminator of Hamadan, 'Abdallah ibn Muhammad al-Hamadhani, who completed his task in September 1313. The order for the third was sent to Mosul, and the calligrapher selected for the task was 'Ali ibn Muhammad, who received his commission in 1306 and completed it sometime after 1311.

The fate of the Mosul Qur'an is unclear. The Baghdad Qur'an is known to have been made for Öljeytü's mausoleum at Sultaniyyah, for some of the surviving portions preserve an endowment certificate (*waqfiyyah*) that says as much. There is no direct evidence that the other two sets were also commissioned for the tomb, but it seems quite probable that this was their original destination. It is worth noting that the certificate mentioning the tomb of Öljeytü occurs on only two of the 11 surviving volumes of the Baghdad Qur'an. Given this fact, it is conceivable that such certificates were placed in sections of the Hamadan and Mosul Qur'ans that are now missing. At some subsequent stage the manuscript was dispersed. This may well have occurred in the 16th century, after the Ottoman conquest of western Iran. Since that time most of the constituent parts of the Qur'an have been lost, and what does survive in the form of odd volumes and portions of volumes is to be found in locations as far apart as Dublin and Tehran. Twelve sections or fragments of sections survive, and these tell us almost everything we know about the scribe.

In several of the surviving sections the calligrapher gives his full name as 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Zayd ibn Muhammad ibn Zayd ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Zayd ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ubaydallah ibn 'Ali ibn 'Ubaydallah ibn 'Ali ibn al-Husayn ibn 'Ali ibn Abi Talib.[3] His genealogy shows him to have been a descendant of al-Husayn ibn 'Ali, the martyr of Karbala', who died in AD 661. In most contexts the calligrapher's long genealogy was abbreviated, and his descent from the caliph 'Ali and his son al-Husayn was

indicated by the use of the *nisbahs* al-'Alawi or al-Husayni; this is the case in the signatures on some sections of the Qur'an he wrote for Öljeytü.

'Ali ibn Muhammad copied out the Qur'an with considerable speed. He began it in 1306 or 1307 and completed the first 15 volumes within a year. Part 16 was not begun until 1310, and Part 30 was finished in 1311. I have suggested elsewhere that the gap between the completion of Part 15 and the commencement of work on Part 16 was a consequence of the calligrapher's dual role as scribe and illuminator and that he decorated the first 15 volumes before beginning the rest of the Qur'an.[4] The evidence is circumstantial. The calligrapher does not state that he was also the illuminator, but no other name appears on the manuscript. However, another illuminated Qur'an by Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Husayni has now been identified, and, apart from its obvious importance as one of the earliest Ilkhanid Qur'ans, this manuscript is of considerable interest, as it enables us to re-examine our suggestion that 'Ali ibn Muhammad was an illuminator as well as a scribe.

The Qur'an in question, cat. 21 below, is a single-volume copy written out in a large *naskh* of archaic appearance that is entirely different from the *muḥaqqaq* used in the Mosul Qur'an made for Öljeytü. Rather it resembles the type of *naskh* used in the Qur'an of 1289 attributed to Yaqut and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, although it is much larger, and there are certain other differences.[5] The *tarwīsah* at the top of *lām* and *alif* is unpointed, for example, and the independent *alif* bends to the left at the bottom. Occasionally, final *nūn* takes a distinctive form. Elongated, flattened and open, it is 3 cm in length, twice that of a normal *nūn* in this position. The surah headings are in gold *thulth ash'ar*, a type of *thulth* commonly used for surah headings in the first half of the 14th century. The devices marking groups of five and ten verses are, like the script of the surah headings, of a standard type. They can be found in both Mamluk and Mesopotamian Qur'ans of the first quarter of the 14th century.

The manuscript is signed by the scribe on the final folio. The colophon reads, *Katabahu 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī fī sanat sab' mi'a*, 'Written by 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Husayni in the year AH 700/AD 1300–1'. The text of the colophon and that of *Sūrat al-nās* (CIV), which is on the same page, are written over knobbled arabesque scrolls with large leaves set against a red hatched ground. This technique is common in Egyptian Qur'ans of this period but is almost never found in Ilkhanid manuscripts of the same date.[6] This is an important point if one bears in mind that the bulk of the text resembles that of a Mamluk Qur'an of the period 1300–15 rather than that of a contemporary Ilkhanid Qur'an. This resemblance does not, however, extend to the illumination at the beginning and the end of the manuscript.

The main area of illumination consists of a central panel of hexagons that overlap along their edges. Where the corners of three hexagons overlap, smaller hexagons are formed, and these are filled by gold knots with six loops. The knots have a blue centre and are on a red ground. The panels formed where two hexagons overlap have a green ground and are filled with gold s-shaped floral motifs ending in leaves with six segments. This is by no means a common pattern, but all the elements mentioned here occur again in the frontispiece of one of the sections of the Qur'an made in Mosul for Öljeytü, that now in the British Library.[7] The axis of the design is diagonal instead of vertical, but the pattern is demonstrably the same.

This design seems to have presented the artist certain problems. In the earlier version, that in cat. 21, the artist had difficulty in adapting the pattern to a square format. The octagons are arbitrarily cut by the frame, compelling him to distort the shapes of many of the octagons on the outer edges of the design. When he was working on the Qur'an section in the British Library, he had difficulty in adapting the pattern to a rectangular format, and, when he came to repeat

the design on the facing page, he had to recalculate the geometry so that it would fit into a rectangular border. These problems probably explain why this pattern occurs only once in the surviving sections of the Qur'an made for Öljeytü. As far as we are aware, there is no record of the pattern being used by other painters, even though octagons were quite popular with Mesopotamian manuscript illuminators from the time of Ibn al-Bawwab onwards.

This evidence, both positive and negative, suggests that both frontispieces were painted by the same person, for certain patterns can be seen as the 'trademarks' of particular illuminators. Sandal, the master illuminator of early 14th-century Cairo, for example, often used the same design and passed it on to his pupil Aydughdi.[8] Other elements have parallels in both manuscripts. They include the marginal medallions, which are of identical shape and are attached to the main frame of the illumination by identical means. Equally, the illuminated areas at the front of both Qur'ans are surrounded by blue rules; they are knotted at the corner in an identical manner, forming an odd, three-looped motif.[9] Insignificant details such as these, and particularly marginal finials and knots surrounding a piece of illumination, often pass unnoticed, but they can be clues to the artist's identity. Historians of European painting have long used such details for the purposes of identification.

Much of the illumination in cat. 21 has no parallel elsewhere in the recorded work of 'Ali ibn Muhammad. Most surprisingly, there is no strapwork in cat. 21, even though this is a prominent feature thoughout the Qur'an made for Öljeytü. It is rare to find a contemporary Mamluk Qur'an without strapwork, but there are several examples of Ilkhanid Qur'ans which omit it, the Hamadan Qur'an made for Öljeytü being the most notable. Detailed study of Öljeytü's Mosul Qur'an shows that, although the painter repeated several of the compositions and numerous details, his stock of motifs and compositions was quite wide. The study of cat. 21 has enabled us to identify several more and has widened our knowledge of manuscript illumination in Mosul and the surrounding area in the last quarter of the 13th century. It is to be hoped that some of this material will appear in other manuscripts, and we will be able to to attribute them to the same region.

It is quite probable that cat. 21 bore a certificate of commissioning on its lost opening page. Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing whether the patron was as illustrious as Sultan Öljeytü, for whom the Mosul Qur'an of 1306–11 was made, but to commission so large and imposing a Qur'an he – or she – must have been an important personage of Ilkhanid Mosul. One possibility is that the patron was one of the Mongol rulers of the city who had declared their conversion to Islam after Ghazan Khan embraced the same faith in July 1295.

1. See James 1988, pp. 100–103 and the literature cited there.
2. James 1988, pp. 92–126.
3. The genealogy varies slightly from one colophon to another, but this appears to be the complete version. I have suggested elsewhere (James 1988, p. 254, note 19) that the Abu'l-Fida' Isma'il ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Zayd ibn 'Ubaydallah al-Husayni who placed a reading note in Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 4768 in 1278 was 'Ali ibn Muhammad's son, but this cannot have been so unless the scribe missed out an ancestor, Zayd ibn 'Ubaydallah.
4. James 1988, p. 101.
5. Paris 1987, cat.no. 29; see p. 59 above.
6. James 1988, fig. 15.
7. MS. OR. 4945, folios 1a–2b; see Lings 1976, pl. 52, where the design is reproduced upside down.
8. James 1988, figs 40–41.
9. Lings 1976, pl. 52.

21

Single-volume Qur'an

Iraq, probably Mosul, AH700/AD1300–1

269 folios, 39×27cm, with
13 lines to the page
Material A cream, lightly polished paper, laid, with
8–9 lines to the centimetre; rib shadows are visible
Text area 31.5×17.5cm
Interlinear spacing 2.2cm
Script The main text in naskh, incidentals in thulth and Kufic
Scribe 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Husayni
Documentation Colophon
Binding Probably modern
Accession no. QUR671
Comparative item London, British Library, OR.MS.4945

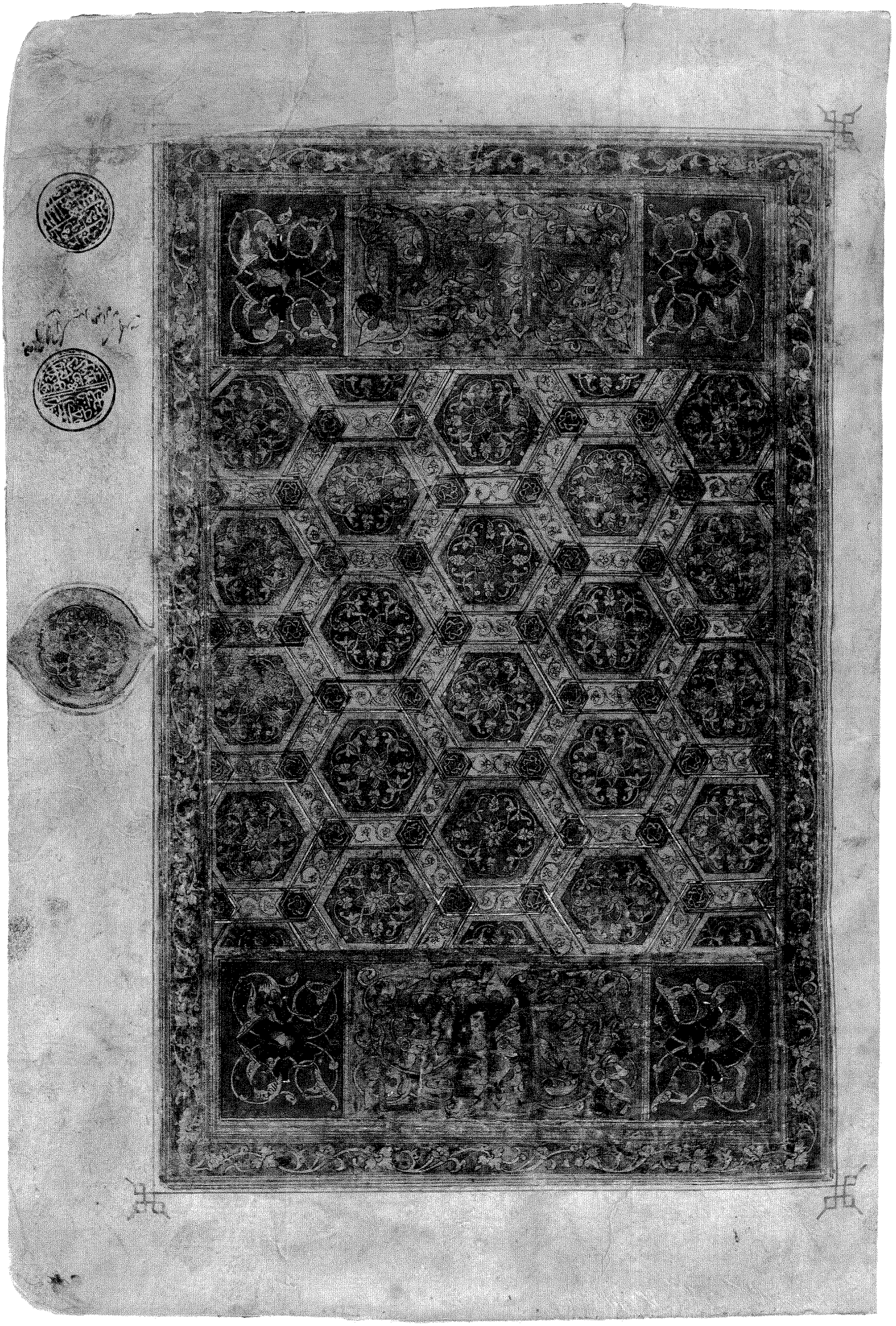
1.James 1988, cat.no.42.
2.OR.MS.4945.

This large single-volume Qur'an bears the name of one of the best known scribes of the early 14th century, 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Zayd al-Husayni, who was also the scribe of the magnificent 30-part Qur'an produced at Mosul in 1306–11 for the Ilkhanid sultan Öljeytü.[1]

The opening and closing folios are fully illuminated. The central portion of the design on the first and final pages is very similar to the frontispiece of the section from the Mosul Qur'an made for Sultan Öljeytü that is now in the British Library.[2] The script of the main text is a large *naskh*, while surah headings are in gold *thulth*. Groups of five and ten verses are marked in the margins by devices that appear in contemporary Mamluk manuscripts as well as in slightly later Mesopotamian work.

The manuscript seems to have undergone restoration at several times in the past. Part of the text on folio 268b, for example, has been stuck down on to a folio that appears to have been partly repainted.

The binding is in brown leather with a central medallion bearing gilt leather inlay.



21 folio 269b

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الم ذلك الكتاب لا ريب فيه هدى للمتقين

الذين يؤمنون بالغيب ويقيمون الصلوة ومما

رزقناهم ينفقون والذين يؤمنون بما انزل اليك وما

انزل من قبلك وبالاخرة هم يوقنون

21 folios 1b–2a

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العلمين الرحمن الرحيم مالك

يوم الدين اياك نعبد واياك نستعين

اهدنا الصراط المستقيم صراط الذين انعمت

عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

22

Two folios

Iraq, probably Baghdad, *circa* AD 1300–1310

Both folios 35.6 × 26.5 cm, with 7 lines to the page
Material A deep cream, highly polished paper, laid, with 4–5 lines to the centimetre
Text area 22.3 × 17 cm
Interlinear spacing 2.5 cm
Script The main text is in a combination of medium rayḥān and a larger hand between muḥaqqaq and rayḥān; incidentals are in thulth and Kufic
Scribe Possibly Arghun al-Kamili
Accession no. QUR473
Comparative items Other material from this Qur'an is found in Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MSS 1494; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS.M840; and Sotheby's 1975, lot no. 185.[1] Compare also Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MSS EH222 and R69.[2]

These two folios contain *Sūrat Yūsuf* (XII), verses 107–11, and *Sūrat al-mujādilah* (LVIII), verses 9–13. On each page five lines of medium *rayḥān* are set between two lines of a larger hand intermediate between *muḥaqqaq* and *rayḥān*. Verses are punctuated by rosettes, while groups of five and ten verses are marked by devices illuminated in bright colours and enlivened with minute white dots, often in a tripartite motif.

There are many other folios from this manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin and in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, and others were recorded when they were sold at Sotheby's in 1975. The work is of first-rate quality, the illumination being in the stylistic tradition current in Baghdad in the first decade of the 14th century. Two collections of surahs in the Topkapı Palace Library are in the same hand as these pages and were illuminated by the same artist. They are dated AH 706/AD 1306–7 and bear an attribution to Arghun al-Kamili.

Arghun ibn 'Abdallah al-Kamili, a native of Baghdad, was of Turkish origin. There is a series of manuscripts produced in the first half of the 14th century that bear his name, several of which are illuminated by the same artist, Muhammad ibn Sayf al-Din al-Naqqash.[3] He is also recorded as having written the inscriptions for a number of buildings in Baghdad.[4]

1. See Geneva 1988, cat.no. 74. For the fragment in the Chester Beatty Library, see also Arberry 1967, cat.no. 66; and James 1980, cat.no. 35. The material sold at Sotheby's is also illustrated at Bamborough 1976, p. 36.
2. Karatay 1962, cat.nos 135 and 194.
3. James 1988, cat.nos 49, 53, 62, 65–66.
4. Qazi Ahmad Minorsky 1959, p. 61.

اسْتَيْـَٔسَ الرُّسُلُ وَظَنُّوٓا۟ أَنَّهُمْ قَدْ كُذِبُوا۟

جَآءَهُمْ نَصْرُنَا فَنُجِّىَ مَن نَّشَآءُ ۖ وَلَا يُرَدُّ بَأْسُنَا عَنِ ٱلْقَوْمِ

ٱلْمُجْرِمِينَ لَقَدْ كَانَ فِى قَصَصِهِمْ عِبْرَةٌ لِّأُو۟لِى

ٱلْأَلْبَٰبِ ۗ مَا كَانَ حَدِيثًا يُفْتَرَىٰ وَلَٰكِن

تَصْدِيقَ ٱلَّذِى بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ وَتَفْصِيلَ كُلَّ شَىْءٍ

وَهُدًى وَرَحْمَةً لِّقَوْمٍ يُؤْمِنُونَ

سُورَةُ الرَّعْدِ مَدَنِيَّةٌ وَهِيَ أَرْبَعٌ وَأَرْبَعُونَ آيَةً

الر

23
Single folio

Iraq, perhaps Mosul, *circa* AD 1300–1320

29.2 × 19.9 cm, with
5 lines to the page
Material A cream paper, perhaps wove, with no visible details
Text area 24.2 × 16.2 cm
Interlinear spacing 5.5 cm
Script Muḥaqqaq
Scribe Perhaps ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Zayd al-Husayni
Accession no. QUR.472
Comparative items James 1988, cat.nos 40 and 42

1. James 1988, cat.no. 40
2. James 1988, cat.no. 42

The use of script in two colours became popular in Iran in the 15th and 16th centuries, although there are some spectacular 14th-century examples, notably the huge 30-part Qur'an made for Sultan Öljeytü in Baghdad between 1306 or 1307 and 1313.[1] This folio, which contains *Sūrat al-qaṣaṣ* (XXVIII), verses 72–77, follows the Baghdad manuscript in having alternate lines of gold and black *muḥaqqaq* with black or gold vocalization, but the colours used for the vowels have been reversed. Gold *muḥaqqaq* with black vocalization is also a feature of another large 30-part Qur'an made for Öljeytü, that produced in Mosul between 1306 and 1311.[2] Furthermore, the verse-markers, large segmented rosettes with the word *āyah* ('verse') in the centre, are identical in both cases, and the folio in the Khalili Collection may be another product of the hand of ʿAli ibn Muhammad al-Husayni, the calligrapher, and probably also the illuminator, of Öljeytü's Mosul manuscript.

وَنَزَعْنَا مِنْ كُلِّ أُمَّةٍ شَهِيدًا فَقُلْنَا هَاتُوا بُرْهَانَكُمْ فَعَلِمُوا

أَنَّ الْحَقَّ لِلَّهِ وَضَلَّ عَنْهُمْ مَا كَانُوا يَفْتَرُونَ ۝ إِنَّ قَارُونَ كَانَ

مِنْ قَوْمِ مُوسَىٰ فَبَغَىٰ عَلَيْهِمْ وَآتَيْنَاهُ مِنَ الْكُنُوزِ مَا إِنَّ

مَفَاتِحَهُ لَتَنُوءُ بِالْعُصْبَةِ أُولِي الْقُوَّةِ إِذْ قَالَ لَهُ قَوْمُهُ لَا تَفْرَحْ

إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ الْفَرِحِينَ ۝ وَابْتَغِ فِيمَا آتَاكَ اللَّهُ الدَّارَ

24

Single folio

Iraq, probably Baghdad, *circa* AD 1313–1325

40 × 29.3 cm, with
5 lines to the page
Material An off-white, polished paper, laid, with 8–10 lines to the centimetre
Text area 23.5 × 17 cm
Interlinear spacing 5 cm
Script Muḥaqqaq
Accession no. QUR162
Published Geneva 1988, cat.no.9

The script is a superb *muḥaqqaq*, but with the finely written vowels of *rayḥān* and is undoubtedly the work of an outstanding calligrapher. The illuminated medallion on the recto, which indicates the end of a group of five verses, is the work of the artist who illuminated cat.22 above, which may well be the work of Arghun al-Kamili, a pupil of Yaqut. It is therefore possible that this page also comes from a Qur'an by Arghun.

The text is *Sūrat al-mā'idah* (v), verses 27–30, and is written in black. Single verses are punctuated by large medallions with the word *āyah* ('verse') written in gold in the centre. The marginal medallion on the recto has the word *al-khams* ('five') at the centre.

أَنَّا لَن نَّدْخُلَهَا أَبَدًا مَّا دَامُوا فِيهَا

فَاذْهَبْ أَنتَ وَرَبُّكَ فَقَاتِلَا

إِنَّا هَاهُنَا قَاعِدُونَ قَالَ رَبِّ

إِنِّي لَا أَمْلِكُ إِلَّا نَفْسِي وَأَخِي

فَافْرُقْ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَ الْقَوْمِ الْفَاسِقِينَ

25

Single-volume Qur'an

Tabriz, Ramadan AH 731/May AD 1332

359 folios, 14.7 × 10.2 cm, with 13 lines to the page
Material A buff, hard, thin, polished paper with visible inclusions; laid, with 7 lines to the centimetre
Text area 9.8 × 5.3 cm
Interlinear spacing 0.7 cm
Script The main text in rayḥān and thulth, incidentals in thulth
Scribe 'Abdallah al-Sayrafi
Documentation Colophon
Binding Contemporary
Accession no. QUR832
Comparative items Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1468;[1] and Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MS. EH49.[2]

This manuscript is the work of 'Abdallah al-Sayrafi, one of the most outstanding calligraphers of the 14th century. Al-Sayrafi, who was famous for his architectural inscriptions, spent all his life in Tabriz,[3] where he was a pupil of Sayyid Haydar Gandah-navis, himself one of the six famous pupils of Yaqut al-Musta'simi.[4]

The most striking feature of the manuscript is the skill that al-Sayrafi showed in composing the text and the surah titles within their allotted spaces. Surah headings are generally written in gold *thulth* and are arranged so that they fill the undecorated gold-ruled panels into which they are set. The headings of surahs that are recited as prayers were singled out for special treatment, which is sometimes extended to the verses immediately following the heading and to other texts. The heading of *Sūrat āl 'Imrān* (III) is written in an oval gold cartouche; the *basmalah* is in silver *thulth* on a gold ground; and the first two verses are in gold *thulth*. The heading of *Sūrat al-an'ām* (VI) is written in silver *thulth* on a gold ground, while the *basmalah* and the first verse are written in gold *thulth*. The headings of surahs IV, V, VIII, IX and X are written in silver on a gold ground, while those of surahs XI, XII, XIII, XXIII, XXIV, XXIX, XXXIII, XXXVI and LV are written in yellow gold on a gold ground. The heading of *Sūrat Maryam* (XIX) is also written in yellow gold on a gold ground, and the *basmalah* and the first verse are written in gold *thulth*, as are *Āyat al-kursī* (II, 255), the whole of *Sūrat al-ikhlāṣ* (CXII) and the first two or three words in each *juz'* (thirtieth part) of the text.

The rest of the text is copied in an excellent *rayḥān* hand, every line being composed with great skill and care. The words are compactly written, with a pronounced leftward slant. Tight gold rules around the text encroach upon the writing and increase the feeling of compactness. Verses are punctuated by large gold rosettes. Divisions of the text are noted in the margin in gold *thulth*.

On the final page there is a roundel containing the colophon, which is composed in densely written gold *thulth* on a gold ground. The date and place of the Qur'an's completion are given, but the place is illegible; it was presumably Tabriz. The presentation of the colophon in the form of a roundel is fairly common in Ilkhanid Qur'ans.[5] Densely written inscriptions in gold *thulth* are also found in other 14th-century manuscripts, a magnificent example being the endowment notice in cat. 29. This evidence suggests that this manuscript is indeed the work of 'Abdallah al-Sayrafi, although the type of *rayḥān* used here does not occur in other manuscripts supposedly by this calligrapher.[6]

The opening folios are replacements decorated in a 15th- or early 16th-century Ottoman style. The covers are decorated with a group of small hexagonal stamps with six-pointed stars. The doublures are made of Mamluk block-printed leather with a palmette design.

1. Arberry 1967, cat.no. 136 and pl. 49.
2. Tanındı 1986, pls 1–7.
3. See Soucek 1985, p. 203.
4. Sayyid Haydar may be the Haydar ibn Asil al-Din who signed a finely carved stucco inscription from Natanz dated AH 709/AD 1309–10. Very little else is known of him.
5. It occurs in the Qur'an made in Hamadan for Sultan Öljeytü in 1313 (Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MS. 72), and in a Qur'an made for the Ilkhanid vizier Rashid al-Din (Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MS. EH248); see James 1988, cat.nos 45 and 46.
6. They are listed in Soucek 1985 and in Tanındı 1986.

الله والله بكل شيء عليم وإن كنتم على سفر
ولم تجدوا كاتبا فرهان مقبوضة فإن أمن بعضكم
بعضا فليؤد الذي اؤتمن أمانته وليتق الله ربه ولا
تكتموا الشهادة ومن يكتمها فإنه آثم قلبه و
الله بما تعملون عليم لله ما في السموات وما في
الأرض وإن تبدوا ما في أنفسكم أو تخفوه يحاسبكم
به الله فيغفر لمن يشاء ويعذب من يشاء والله على
كل شيء قدير آمن الرسول بما أنزل إليه من ربه والمؤمنون
كل آمن بالله وملائكته وكتبه ورسله لا نفرق بين أحد
من رسله وقالوا سمعنا وأطعنا غفرانك ربنا وإليك المصير
لا يكلف الله نفسا إلا وسعها لها ما كسبت و
عليها ما اكتسبت ربنا لا تؤاخذنا إن نسينا أو أخطأنا ربنا
ولا تحمل علينا إصرا كما حملته على الذين من قبلنا ربنا ولا

تحملنا ما لا طاقة لنا به واعف عنا واغفر لنا وارحمنا
أنت مولينا فانصرنا على القوم الكافرين

سورة آل عمران مائتا آية وثلاث آيات

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

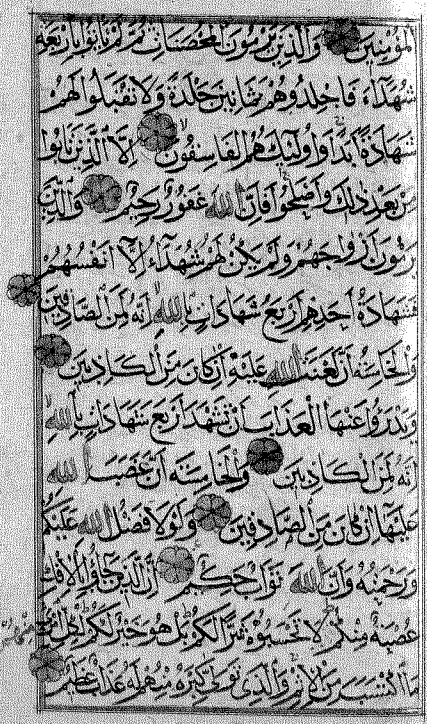
الم الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم
نزل عليك الكتاب بالحق مصدقا لما بين يديه وأنزل التورية
والإنجيل من قبل هدى للناس وأنزل الفرقان إن الذين كفروا
بآيات الله لهم عذاب شديد والله عزيز ذو انتقام
إن الله لا يخفى عليه شيء في الأرض ولا في السماء هو
الذي يصوركم في الأرحام كيف يشاء لا إله إلا
هو العزيز الحكيم هو الذي أنزل عليك الكتاب

25 folios 28b–29a

لا ترجعون فتعالى الله الملك الحق لا إله إلا هو رب
العرش الكريم ومن يدع مع الله إلها آخر لا برهان
له به فإنما حسابه عند ربه إنه لا يفلح الكافرون
وقل رب اغفر وارحم وأنت خير الراحمين

سورة النور أربع وستون آية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
سورة أنزلناها وفرضناها وأنزلنا فيها آيات بينات
لعلكم تذكرون الزانية والزاني فاجلدوا كل واحد
منهما مائة جلدة ولا تأخذكم بهما رأفة في دين الله
إن كنتم تؤمنون بالله واليوم الآخر وليشهد عذابهما
طائفة من المؤمنين الزاني لا ينكح إلا زانية أو مشركة
والزانية لا ينكحها إلا زان أو مشرك وحرم ذلك على



المؤمنين والذين يرمون المحصنات ثم لم يأتوا بأربعة
شهداء فاجلدوهم ثمانين جلدة ولا تقبلوا لهم
شهادة أبدا وأولئك هم الفاسقون إلا الذين تابوا
من بعد ذلك وأصلحوا فإن الله غفور رحيم والذين
يرمون أزواجهم ولم يكن لهم شهداء إلا أنفسهم
فشهادة أحدهم أربع شهادات بالله إنه لمن الصادقين
والخامسة أن لعنة الله عليه إن كان من الكاذبين
ويدرؤا عنها العذاب أن تشهد أربع شهادات بالله
إنه لمن الكاذبين والخامسة أن غضب الله
عليها إن كان من الصادقين ولولا فضل الله عليكم
ورحمته وأن الله تواب حكيم إن الذين جاؤوا بالإفك
عصبة منكم لا تحسبوه شرا لكم بل هو خير لكم لكل امرئ منهم
ما اكتسب من الإثم والذي تولى كبره منهم له عذاب عظيم

25 folios 201b–202a

26

Fragment of Part 12 of a 30-part Qur'an

Iran, *circa* AD 1320–1330

7 folios, 27.8 × 22 cm, with
5 lines to the page
Material A buff paper, probably
wove, but with no visible details
Text area 21.7 × 15 cm
Interlinear spacing 4.7 cm
Script Rayḥān
Binding Modern
Accession no. QUR474
Comparative items London,
Victoria & Albert Museum, MS.
M.4.675–76; and Geneva, Prince
Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection,
MS. CAL.87 are from the same
Qur'an.[1] Compare also London,
British Library, MS. OR. 1339.[2]

1. Falk 1985, cat.no. 8.
2. Lings & Safadi 1976, cat.no. 106.

These folios contain *Sūrat Yūsuf* (XII), verses 1–40. The Qur'an from which they come is related to another in the British Library. Although they have both been identified as Mamluk, they represent a type produced in Iran in the 1330s. Both were written in gold *rayḥān* script with blue vocalization, a combination not used by Mamluk scribes in the 14th century. Nor were the gold and blue rules that frame each page a regular feature of Mamluk Qur'ans before the second half of the 14th century.

Verses are punctuated by gold and blue circles bearing the word *āyah* ('verse').

27

Part 26 of a 30-part Qur'an

Iran, possibly Tabriz, Shawwal AH 734/June AD 1334

48 folios, 36 × 25.6 cm, with
5 lines to the page
Material A cream, polished
wove paper
Text area 36 × 25.6 cm
Interlinear spacing 4.2 cm
Script The main text in rayḥān,
incidentals in rayḥān and naskh
Scribe Amir Hajj ibn Ahmad
(al-Sayini)
Documentation A colophon
Accession no. QUR220
Published Sotheby's, London,
27 April 1982, lot no. 208
Comparative items For other
material from the same Qur'an,
see James 1988, p. 242

1. James 1988, cat.no. 55,
pp. 161–2, 242.

This manuscript formed part of a magnificent 30-part Qur'an of which at least seven sections survive.[1] The *nisbah* of the scribe, al-Sayini, can be read in the colophon of another section, and it may indicate that he was in the service of the Ilkhanid vizier Rukn al-Din Sayin, a *protégé* of the warlord Amir Chupan Solduz who was executed in AD 1327. A *waqfiyyah* in some of the other sections shows that this Qur'an was in Yemen at the end of the 14th century, and it was probably taken there via Cairo, where several other Ilkhanid Qur'ans of this type are known to have made their way at this time.

Gold *rayḥān* with blue vocalization was used for both the text and the surah headings of this manuscript, and the text on each page is framed by gold and dark blue rules. Like several other Ilkhanid Qur'ans, this manuscript had no frontispiece, but the two opening pages of text (folios 1b–2a) were once decorated with rich illumination, now damaged. Fine marginal ornaments were used to mark each fifth and tenth verse, but only eight survive. Individual verses are punctuated with gold rosettes, with blue dots between the petals. The colophon is in black *naskh*.

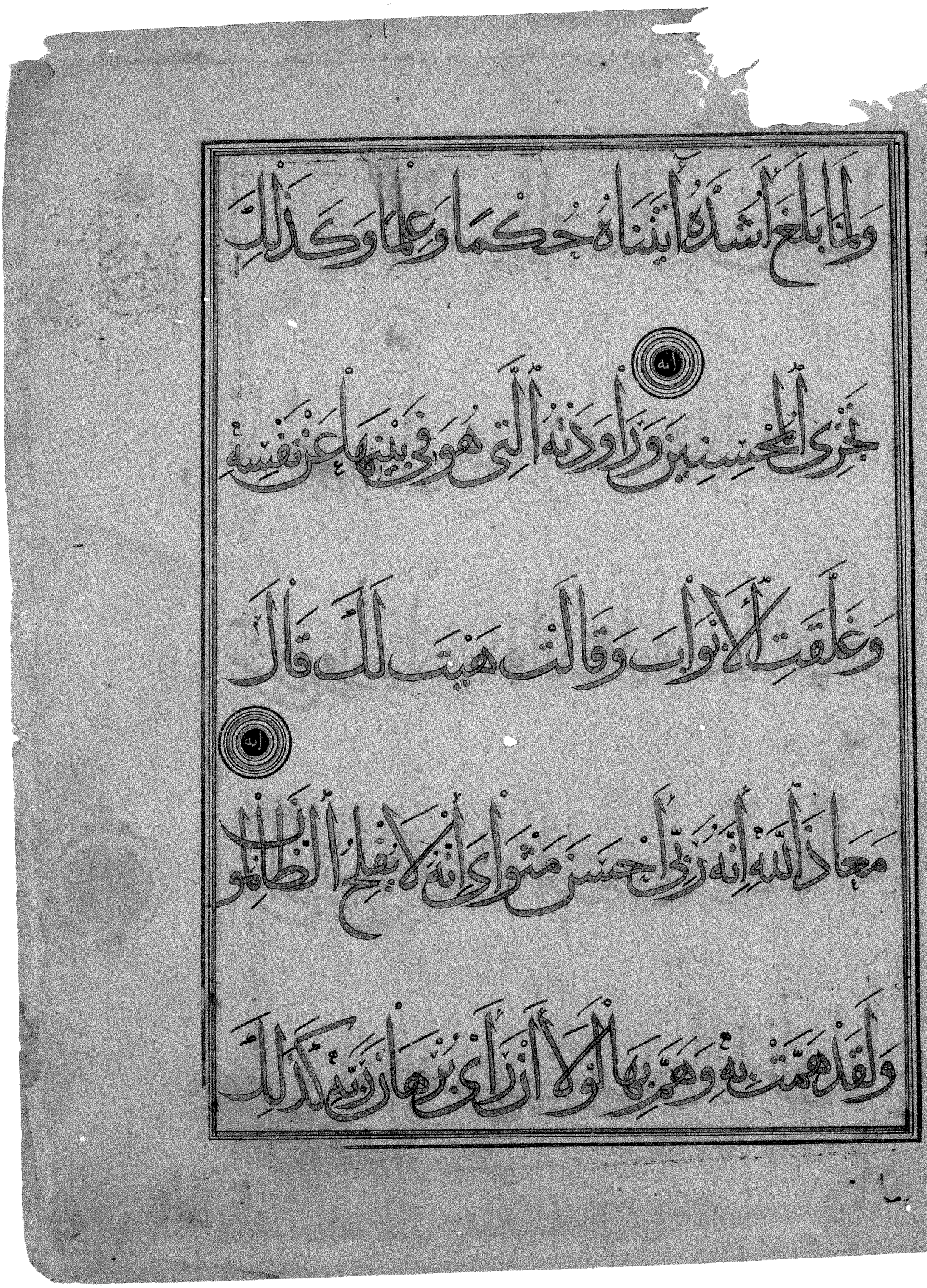
اقتلوا يوسف او اطرحوه ارضا يخل لكم

وجه ابيكم وتكونوا من بعده قوما صالحين

قال قائل منهم لا تقتلوا يوسف والقوه في غيابة

الجب يلتقطه بعض السيارة ان كنتم فاعلين

قالوا يا ابانا مالك لا تأمنا على يوسف وانا له


وَلَمَّا بَلَغَ أَشُدَّهُ آتَيْنَاهُ حُكْمًا وَعِلْمًا وَكَذَٰلِكَ
نَجْزِي الْمُحْسِنِينَ وَرَاوَدَتْهُ الَّتِي هُوَ فِي بَيْتِهَا عَن نَّفْسِهِ
وَغَلَّقَتِ الْأَبْوَابَ وَقَالَتْ هَيْتَ لَكَ قَالَ
مَعَاذَ اللَّهِ إِنَّهُ رَبِّي أَحْسَنَ مَثْوَايَ إِنَّهُ لَا يُفْلِحُ الظَّالِمُونَ
وَلَقَدْ هَمَّتْ بِهِ وَهَمَّ بِهَا لَوْلَا أَن رَّأَىٰ بُرْهَانَ رَبِّهِ كَذَٰلِكَ

*26 folios 4b–5a

وكانوا فيه من الزاهدين ۝ وقال الذي اشتراه من
مصر لامرأته أكرمي مثواه عسى أن ينفعنا أو
نتخذه ولدا وكذلك مكنا ليوسف في
الأرض ولنعلمه من تأويل الأحاديث والله
غالب على أمره ولكن أكثر الناس لا يعلمون

ولما

وَإِن تَتَوَلَّوْا يَسْتَبْدِلْ قَوْمًا غَيْرَكُمْ ثُمَّ لَا

يَكُونُوا أَمْثَالَكُم

سُورَةُ الْفَتْحِ عِشْرُونَ وَتِسْعُ آيَاتٍ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

إِنَّا فَتَحْنَا لَكَ فَتْحًا مُّبِينًا لِّيَغْفِرَ لَكَ

كفار فلن يغفر الله لهم فلا تهنوا

وتدعوا إلى السلم وأنتم الأعلون والله

معكم ولن يتركم أعمالكم إنما

الحيوة الدنيا لعب ولهو وإن تؤ

منوا وتتقوا يؤتكم أجوركم ولا يسئا

كم

28

22 parts of a 30-part Qur'an

Perhaps Iraq, AH753/AD1352–3

An average of 36 folios per volume, 4.7×3.7cm, with 7 lines to the page
Material The original material was a thick, soft, cream paper, laid, with 6 lines to the centimetre; this has been supplemented by various later papers, including a thin, hard type, laid, with 10 lines to the centimetre and chain lines, in Part 24
Text area 3.7×2.2cm
Interlinear spacing 0.6cm
Script Naskh
Scribe Safi al-Din Suhayb ibn 'Iwad ibn Hasan al-Hafiz al-M...
Documentation Six of the volumes have colophons
Bindings All 22 parts are separately bound; most appear to have retained their original 14th-century covers, but some may have 15th-century additions or replacements
Accession no. QUR370

Eight sections of this tiny 30-part Qur'an have not survived.[1] Some of the remaining sections were signed and dated by the calligrapher, and the dates they bear fall in different months of AH753/AD1352–3. However, the text was not copied in chronological sequence, for Parts 6 and 30 were written in the month of Safar; Part 9 was copied two months later, in Rabi' II; and Parts 11, 25 and 29 were written four months later, in Sha'ban. The explanation for this slightly eccentric method of working is unclear, but it may be noted that the 30-part Qur'an copied for Tashi Khatun in Shiraz in AH745–6/AD1344–6 seems to have been copied out in a similarly unusual sequence.[2] Parts 12, 23 and 24 are all later replacements, and Part 23 is dated AH822/AD1419–20.

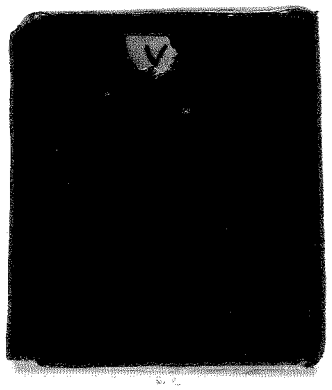
The opening folios have blue panels inscribed with the section number above and below the text. Surah headings are in gold outlined in black. Reading notes are in red. The verses are punctuated by gold circles; groups of ten verses are marked by medallions in the margin.

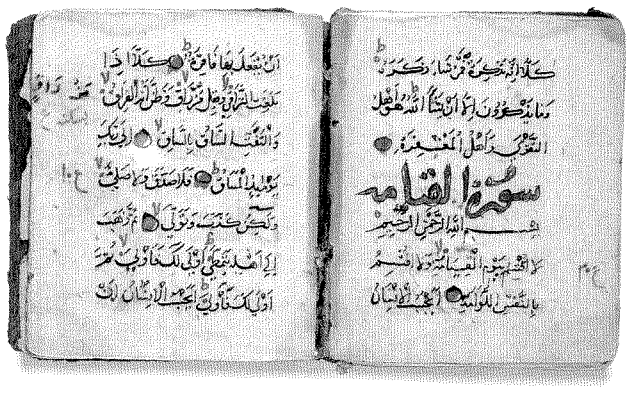
The origin of the Qur'an is difficult to establish because of the limited amount of decoration. Such decoration as there is suggests an Iraqi or Iranian, rather than a Mamluk, origin. The name of the scribe may offer further evidence for locating where the manuscripts were produced. Suhayb was one of the Companions of the Prophet and is said to have been buried in what is now south-west Turkey.[3] As it is a pre-Islamic Arab name, it suggests that the man who bore it was an Arab rather than an Iranian or Turk. He was the son of al-Hajj 'Iwad, whose name is Arab rather than Muslim. The bearers of names such as these would perhaps come from Arabic-speaking areas such as Iraq rather than Iran.

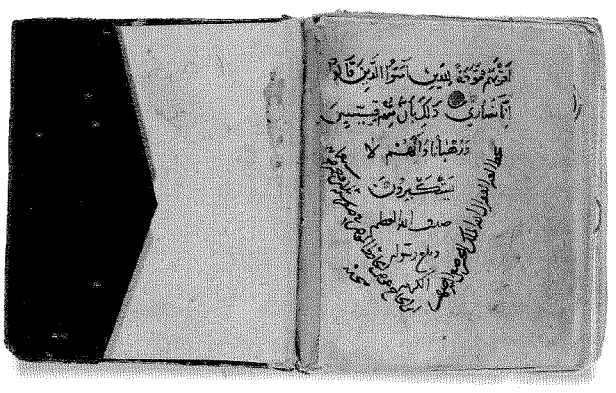
The bindings on several of the folios may be original. They are made of brown calf and are undecorated save for a simple line border. The replacement volumes have been bound in the same way.

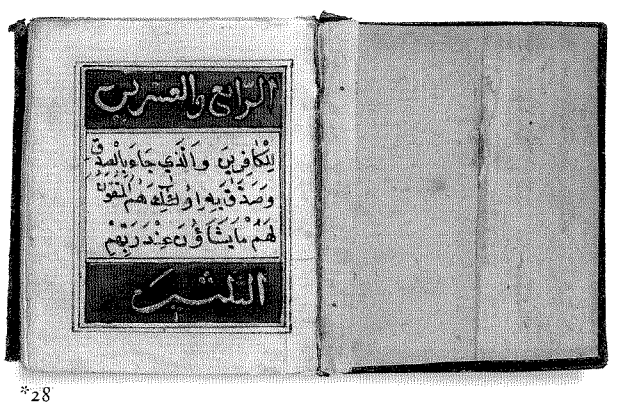
1. The missing sections are Parts 1–3, 7, 13, 17, 18 and 28.
2. James 1988, cat.no.69.
3. According to tradition Suhayb was the ancestor of the Greeks, *al-Rūm*.

الرابع
مكتوب
آخر
لن تنالوا البر حتى تنفقوا مما
تحبون وما تنفقوا من شيء
فإن الله به عليم كل الطعام كان
بين آخر




سورة القيامة
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم




الرابع والعشرين
للكافرين والذي جاء بالصدق
وصدق به أولئك هم المتقون
لهم ما يشاؤن عند ربهم
الثلثين

A Qur'an for an Inju'id Princess

During the first half of the 14th century AD the city of Shiraz in south-west Iran was the capital of a local dynasty usually known as the Inju'ids. The founder of the dynasty, and its most effective member, was Sharaf al-Din Mahmudshah, who had been sent to Shiraz by the Ilkhanid sultan Öljeytü (*reg* 1304–17) to administer the royal estates (Mongol *injü*) in the province of Fars. By 1325 Mahmudshah had turned the area into a personal fiefdom, and Sultan Abu Sa'id (*reg* 1317–35) summoned him to Tabriz to give an account of himself. The sultan attempted to send a new governor to Shiraz, but he was thwarted in this by one of Mahmudshah's sons, Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw. In 1336 Abu Sa'id's successor, Arpa Qa'un, ordered the execution of Mahmudshah.

During the years that followed, Mahmudshah's four sons fought over their father's domain, sometimes allying themselves with their great rivals, the Chupanids. On the demise of the Chupanids in 1343, the only surviving son of Mahmudshah, Shaykh Abu Ishaq, was left in control of Shiraz and Isfahan, but he came into increasing conflict with the Muzaffarids of Kirman, who captured and executed him in 1357.[1]

The last years of Inju'id rule are remembered as a period in which literature flourished, for Abu Ishaq was the patron of no less a figure than the great poet Hafiz of Shiraz. A curious style of painting is also associated with the Inju'ids. Several illustrated manuscripts dated between 1330 and 1352, many of them copies of the *Shāhnāmah*, are attributed to Shiraz on the basis of one dated 1341, which bears the name of an Inju'id vizier, al-Hasan Qiwam al-Din. The paintings are bright, bold and rapidly executed and have an archaic, even primitive, quality. They are presumed, probably correctly, to have come from the same source, and the style disappears without trace after the overthrow of the Inju'ids in 1357.[2] It is noticeable that the illuminated decoration in these manuscripts is often much more sophisticated than the illustrations themselves. The illumination in the *Shāhnāmah* of 1341, for instance, is quite accomplished.[3]

Qur'ans attributable to Shiraz during the Inju'id period are rare. The best known is the copy that Tashi Khatun, the mother of Abu Ishaq, commissioned when she had the Shah-i Chiragh Mosque in Shiraz rebuilt. The manuscript was copied by Pir Yahya al-Jamali al-Sufi in 1344–6 and was illuminated by Hamzah ibn Muhammad al-'Alawi. The script is of the highest order, but the illumination is, in this instance, mediocre.[4]

Several portions of another finely written 30-part Qur'an from a slightly later period have also been identified. Parts 1, 12, 13 and 30 from this Qur'an are in the Pars Museum in Shiraz,[5] while Parts 10 and 14 and Parts 24 and 25 were bound as two volumes and are now in the Khalili Collection. No proper study of the volumes in the Pars Museum has been undertaken, but it is apparent that the sections in both collections were completed at different times. The text is arranged in seven lines of gold *muḥaqqaq* outlined in black and seems to be in the same hand throughout, although there are slight differences between the sections.[6] The illumination does not show the same consistency and is clearly by two different artists whose work was separated by an interval of 30 years or more.

The earlier phase is marked by the use of scrolls, palmettes and floral sprays that were expertly drawn in meticulous detail. The motifs were painted in bright, contrasting colours, very much in the tradition associated with the Baghdadi master Muhammad ibn Aybak, who flourished during the first quarter of the same century. The sections in this earlier style, Parts 1, 12, 24 and 25, have a beautifully illuminated *waqfiyyah* on their initial pages. According to this inscription, the Qur'an was made *waqf*–and we may presume commissioned–by Fars Malik Khatun, a daughter of the late Mahmudshah, founder of the Inju'id dynasty. The Qur'an was

to be kept in her house until her death, when it was to be placed at the head of her tomb. The *waqfiyyah* is quite explicit on these points, but the Qur'an does not appear to have been completed in her lifetime, and it is therefore unlikely that her directions were ever carried out. As her father is spoken of as 'the late' Mahmudshah, the project must have been initiated after 1336, the year of his execution. Establishing a firm date by which the first phase in the production of the Qur'an was completed is a more complex task.

We know that Fars Malik Khatun was still alive in 1343–4, as she is mentioned in the *Shīrāznāmah* composed in that year as the builder of a large mausoleum over the grave of a local saint, 'Ali ibn Bazghash (*d* 1279–80).[7] The only other possible reference to her is in the *Travels* of Ibn Battutah, who stayed in Shiraz in 1347–8. While he was in the city there was a legal dispute over the ownership of some land between 'the sultan's mother and his sister'. The sultan in question was Mahmudshah's son, Abu Ishaq, whose mother was Mahmudshah's widow, Tashi Khatun. Ibn Battutah does not mention the name of his sister, but it is possible that he was referring to Fars Malik Khatun.[8] If so, the Qur'an may have been in production as late as 1348; in any case, the first phase of illumination must have come to an end at or before the fall of Abu Ishaq in 1357.

The second style of illumination appears in Parts 10, 13, 14 and 30 and dates from the 1370s. It is characterized by simple gold sprays and arabesques on a blue ground and anticipates the style current in Shiraz under the Timurids in the next century, but the marginal ornaments , which have brightly coloured petal borders can be more easily related to the decorative traditions of the first half of the 14th century. The sections in the later style do not contain the *waqfiyyah* of Fars Malik Khatun, but an endowment notice made out in the name of the Muzaffarid vizier Turanshah and dated AH 777/AD 1375 is written in black *tawqī'* directly on to the blank first page.

The sequence of events appears to have been the following. Fars Malik Khatun commissioned the manuscript, and the copying of the text, but not its vocalization, was completed. The illumination was then begun, the most important element in this being the impressive and finely illuminated *waqfiyyah* with which each section commences. The vocalization of the text was done at this time, and a Persian interlinear translation was added. The illumination was then completed with the addition of the marginalia and verse-markers and the drawing of gold and blue rules around the text and the translation. However, due most probably to the death of the patron, parts of this process remained unfinished until the 1370s, when by some means or other the Qur'an became the property of Turanshah, a vizier who served the Inju'ids' Muzaffarid successors. Turanshah ordered that the illumination be completed so that the Qur'an could be placed in the Jami' al-'Atiq in Shiraz. The text in the unfinished sections was vocalized, and an artist added the marginalia and verse-markers, but not the Persian translation. As a consequence, the area of text surrounded by gold and blue rules is shorter than in the sections completed earlier. The new *waqfiyyah* of Turanshah was written on the opening pages of these sections, which were otherwise left blank. The endowment notice of Fars Malik Khatun found in some volumes was simply painted out in gold, and the *waqfiyyah* of Turanshah written over the top.

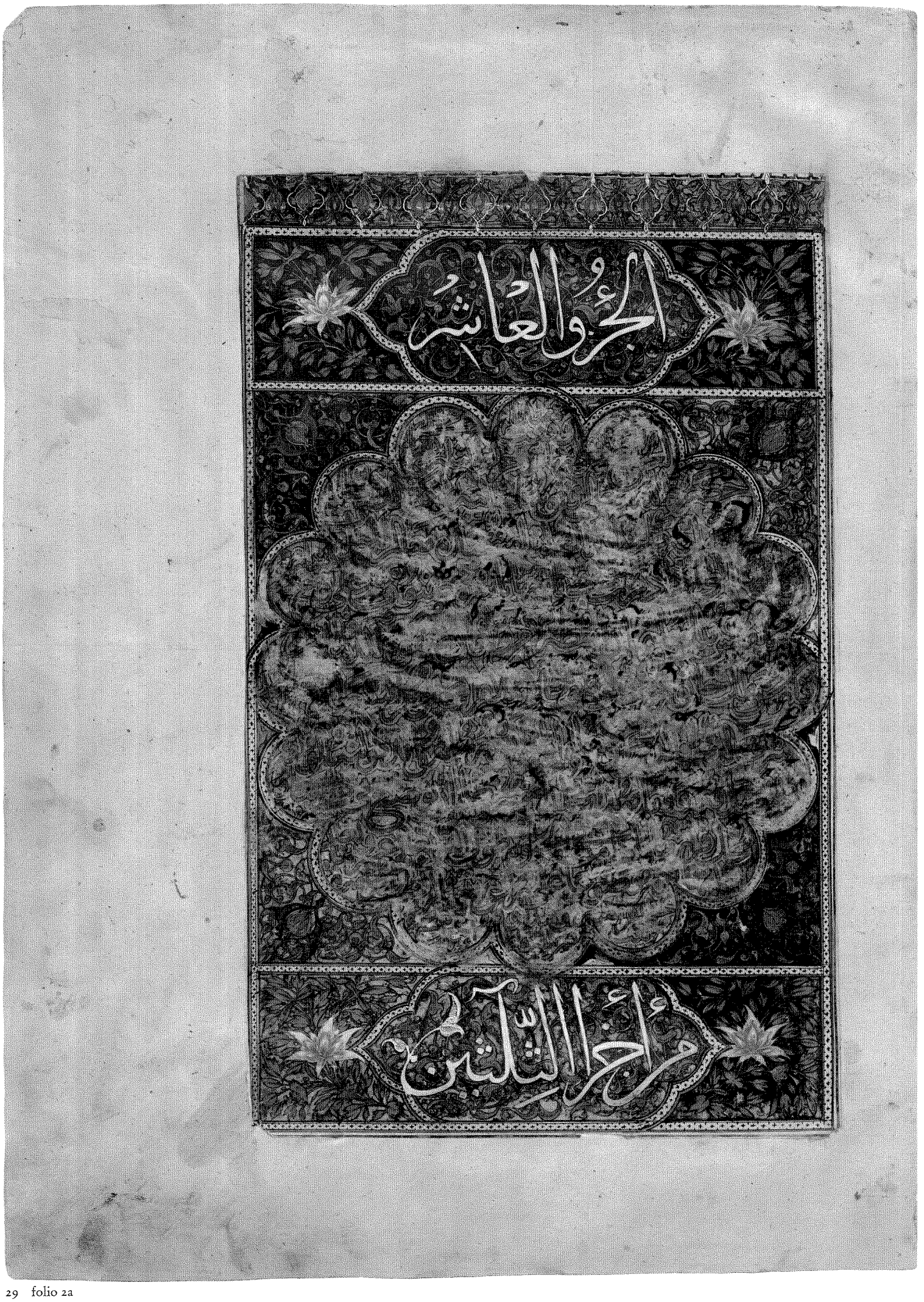
At this point all the sections were bound at the order of Turanshah. The bindings are in brown morocco. The main motif is a blind-tooled lobed medallion with pendants containing a gold-tooled geometric star. There are blind, stamped borders with triangular projections into the central field. Covers of exactly the same type appear not only on cats 29 and 30, the Fars Malik Khatun Qur'an, but also on cat. 33, a Qur'an with almost identical decoration to cat. 30. The

bindings can therefore be attributed to Shiraz in the final quarter of the 14th century. The design on the covers is close to that on a Qur'an binding produced in Maraghah in 1338–9,[9] and this indicates that they are typical of the period. They are thus useful additions to the limited corpus of bindings known to have been made in 14th-century Iraq or Iran.[10]

The decoration in the Qur'an of Fars Malik Khatun indicates that, at least in terms of the use of colour and technical competence, the illumination in some Inju'id manuscripts compares very favourably with that in manuscripts from Tabriz such as the Demotte *Shāhnāmah*. Other manuscripts show that the quality of its decoration was not exceptional. The illumination in cat. 31, a collection of five surahs, is so close in style to the Qur'an commissioned by Fars Malik Khatun that it must have been produced in Shiraz at about the same time, perhaps even in the same workshop. The Pars Museum also contains at least one section from another Qur'an illuminated by the artist of the Fars Malik Khatun Qur'an.[11]

Both the style and quality of these manuscripts raise a number of points about manuscript painting in Shiraz in the Inju'id period. It is clear that the Inju'id illustrated manuscripts were inferior to other manuscripts being produced there, at least insofar as the standard of their execution is concerned. It is worth considering why there is such a difference in quality between the group of manuscripts associated with Fars Malik Khatun on the one hand and the illustrated *Shāhnāmahs* on the other; perhaps the Fars Malik Khatun manuscripts were the work of artists who had fled to Shiraz from Tabriz because of the disturbances that followed the collapse of Ilkhanid rule there after 1336.[12]

1. Roemer 1986, pp. 11–16.
2. See Grube 1978, pp. 15–16, for a list of these manuscripts and a bibliography.
3. This is not true of all of the manuscripts; see Titley & Waley, 1975, fig. 2, for example.
4. James 1988, cat.no. 69.
5. Bahrami 1949, cat.no. 60; James 1988, cat.no. 69.
6. *Tā' marbūṭah* has a more open loop in the sections bearing earlier illumination, for example. On the other hand, the page size, script size and most other comparable measurements are virtually identical in all the sections we have examined.
7. Ahmad ibn Zarkub, p. 178; according to the same source, Fars Malik Khatun – whom he called Malik Khatun – also rebuilt the madrasah on the site and erected many other buildings.
8. Ibn Battutah–Gibb, 1962, p. 305.
9. James 1988, cat.no. 61.
10. See also Ettinghausen 1954, pl. 351.
11. Shiraz, Pars Museum, MS. 427 is Part 8 of a 30-part Qur'an written in three lines of large gold *muḥaqqaq* and four lines of medium *muḥaqqaq*. The manuscript is unpublished but was shown to me on a visit to the Pars Museum in 1978; at the same time I was shown remains of several other manuscripts which had been lumped together with the Tashi Khatun Qur'an of 1344–6.
12. This is pure speculation, but it would also explain the existence of a curious painting in the style of the Demotte *Shāhnāmah* in an Inju'id *Shāhnāmah* dated 1340–41 (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 110; see Arberry and others 1959-62, I, p. 25, note 1). This painting has been dismissed as a forgery or as a much later 'archaizing' addition, but microscopic analysis of the condition of the painting has shown that it could not have been painted in recent times.



29 folio 2a

29

Parts 10 and 14 of a 30-part Qur'an

Shiraz, AD 1336–1357

51 folios, 42.6 × 31 cm, with 7 lines to the page
Material A thick, well-polished off-white paper, laid, with perhaps 9 lines to the centimetre; it is a different paper to that of cat. 30
Text area 30.7 × 19.3 cm
Interlinear spacing 4.1 cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in thulth, and the interlinear translation in naskh
Patron Fars Malik Khatun
Documentation A notice of endowment
Binding Bound as one volume in Shiraz, *circa* AD 1375
Accession no. QUR 182
Comparative items Cat. 30 and Shiraz, Pars Museum, MS. 417 contain other parts of the same Qur'an.[1] Compare also cat. 31

1. For the Shiraz manuscript, see Lings & Safadi 1976, cat.no. 112; and James 1988, cat.no. 71.

Both sections have magnificent opening folios bearing a large and imposing cusped medallion. The original dedicatory inscription was overpainted in the late 14th century but has been revealed by careful cleaning. It shows that all 30 parts of the Qur'an were made for Fars Malik Khatun, daughter of Sharaf al-Din Mahmudshah, the founder of the Inju'id dynasty of Shiraz. She intended that they should be kept first in her home and then, after her death, in her tomb. Her father is spoken of as 'the late' Mahmudshah, so the inscription must date from after his execution in 1336.

Part 10 consists of 25 folios. The opening pages are fully illuminated, with the text in gold *muhaqqaq* over blue floral scrolls on a hatched ground. Panels above and below the text contain *Sūrat al-wāqi'ah* (LVI), verses 77–78, written in white *thulth* over fine gold scrolls within a cartouche with a blue ground. The cartouche is flanked by gold floral sprays on a red-brown ground that also bears a tiny repeat motif of three white dots. Strapwork borders surround both the text and the decorative panels, which have an inner border of white bands decorated with black Y-shapes. In the vertical margins large polychrome hasps composed of palmettes are flanked by medallions with petal borders.

The rest of the text is in gold *muḥaqqaq* outlined in black. The vocalization is in blue, and each page is framed by gold and blue rules. Verses are punctuated by red-gold rosettes with blue dots. Groups of five verses are indicated in the margin by large, finely drawn pear-shaped medallions in blue with gold arabesque scrolls; the number is given in gold Kufic within a gold border. Groups of ten verses are marked in a similar manner, but the medallions are circular and are framed by gold palmettes with green or red centres alternating with green and gold palmettes with black centres. There is an interlinear Persian translation in a contemporary black *naskh* hand. The only surah heading is in *thulth* and is set within a panel with a hatched ground with blue crosses.

Part 14 consists of 26 folios. The decoration of the opening folios is very much like that of Part 10, but the scrolls under the text are green, and the panels have blue grounds throughout. In addition, the inner borders of the upper and lower panels consists of an s-link chain motif, and gold quatrefoils have been inserted in the strapwork outer borders. The rest of the text is also presented in much the same manner as in Part 10, although the outlining in black was executed with much greater care, and there are minor variations in the decoration. The verse-markers consist of the word *āyah* ('verse') in gold Kufic on a red ground within a gold circle outlined in blue; and there is more use of green and red in the markers for groups of five and ten verses, while the vegetal forms do not have black detailing. The one surah heading is written on blue scrolls.

مِنْ فَضْلِهِ وَرَسُولُهُ إِنَّا إِلَى اللَّهِ رَاغِبُونَ إِنَّمَا

از فزونی خویش و پیغامبر وی ما سوی خدای امیدوارندگانیم هر آینه

الصَّدَقَاتُ لِلْفُقَرَاءِ وَالْمَسَاكِينِ وَالْعَامِلِينَ

صدقها مر درویشان است و بی چیزان را و کارکنندگان را

عَلَيْهَا وَالْمُؤَلَّفَةِ قُلُوبُهُمْ وَفِي الرِّقَابِ وَابْنِ السَّبِيلِ

بر آن صدقها و آنکسها که گرم باید کردن دلهای شان و بر بندگانی که خویش خریده باشند و مر راه گذران را

فَرِيضَةً مِنَ اللَّهِ وَاللَّهُ عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ وَمِنْهُمُ الَّذِينَ

واجبی از خدای و خدای داناست و استوارکار و از ایشان کسها اند

يُؤْذُونَ النَّبِيَّ وَيَقُولُونَ هُوَ أُذُنٌ قُلْ أُذُنُ خَيْرٍ لَكُمْ

سخن شنوند پیغامبر را و همی گویند وی سخن شنواست بگوی سخن شنو نیکی است مر شما را

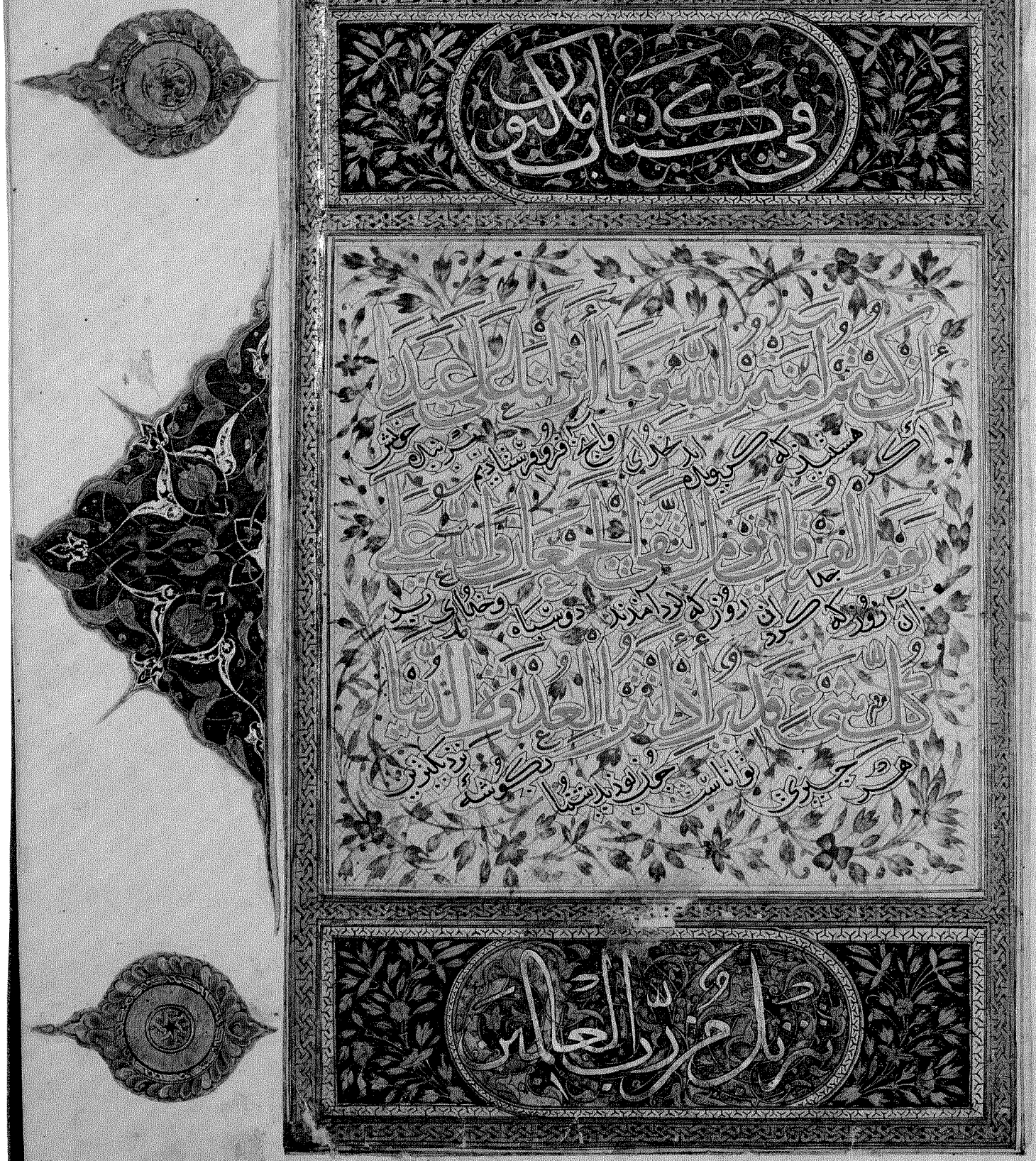
يُؤْمِنُ بِاللَّهِ وَيُؤْمِنُ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَرَحْمَةٌ لِلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا

بگروید بخدای و راست گوی دارد مر گرویدگان را و بخشودنی است مر آنکسها که بگرویدند

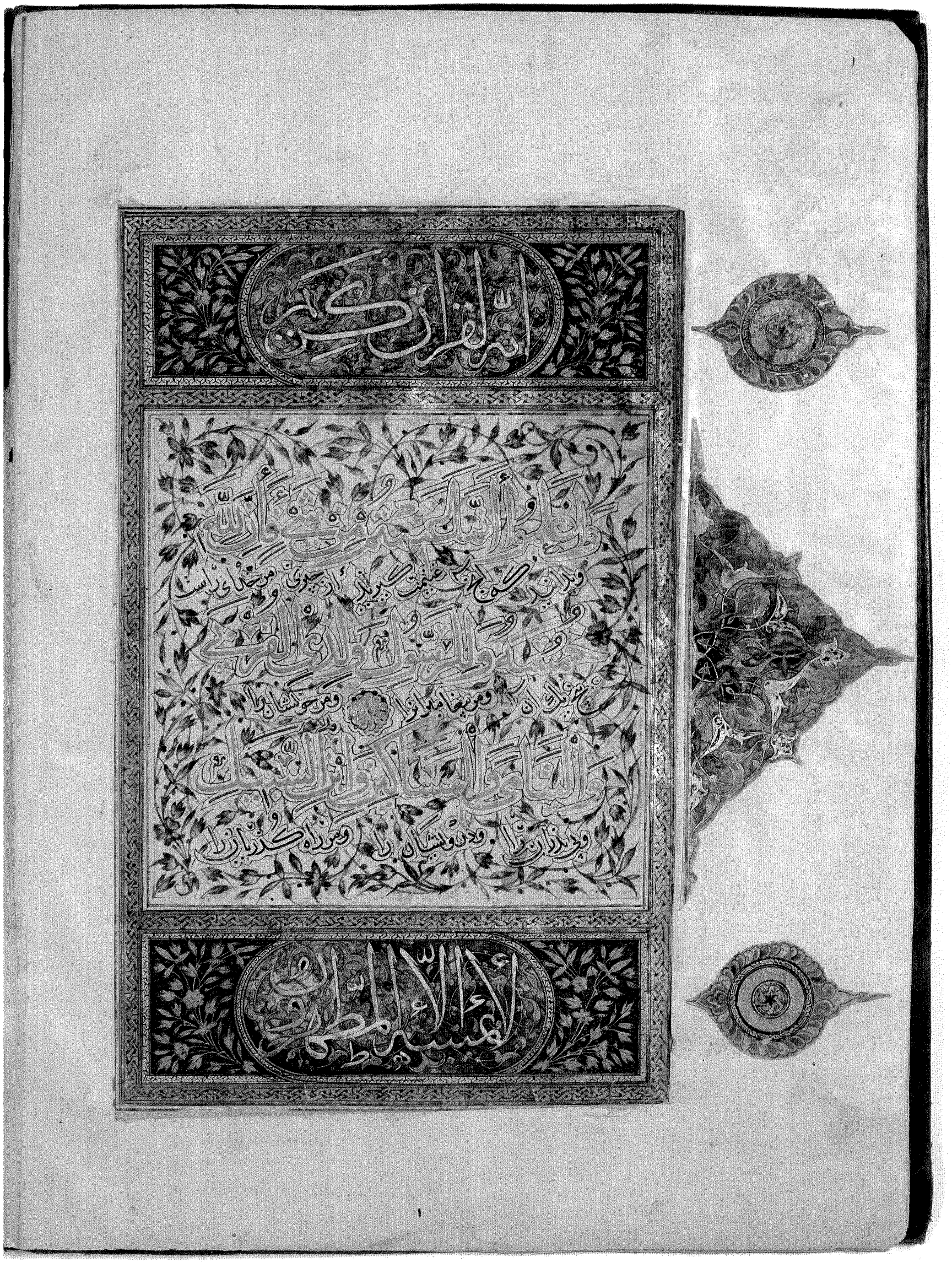
مِنْكُمْ وَالَّذِينَ يُؤْذُونَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ لَهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ

از شما و آنکسها که بیازارند پیغامبر خدای را مر ایشان راست عذابی دردگین

29 folio 19b



29 folios 2b–3a


انه لقرآن كريم
وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّمَا غَنِمْتُمْ مِنْ شَيْءٍ فَأَنَّ لِلَّهِ
وبدانید که آنچه غنیمت گیرید از چیزی مر خدای راست
خُمُسَهُ وَلِلرَّسُولِ وَلِذِي الْقُرْبَى
پنج یک آن و مر پیغامبران را و مر خویشان را
وَالْيَتَامَى وَالْمَسَاكِينِ وَابْنِ السَّبِيلِ
و بی پدران را و درویشان را و مر راه گذریان را
لا يمسه الا المطهرون

30

Parts 24 and 25 of a 30-part Qur'an

Shiraz, AD 1336–1375

54 folios, 42.9×31.2 cm, with 7 lines to the page
Material A well-polished off-white paper, laid, with an indeterminate number of lines
Text area 29.6×19.6 cm
Interlinear spacing 4.3 cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in thulth
Patrons Fars Malik Khatun and Turanshah
Documentation Text of two endowment notices
Binding Bound as a single volume in Shiraz, *circa* AD 1375
Accession no. QUR181
Comparative items Cat. 29 and Shiraz, Pars Museum, MS. 417 contain other parts of the same Qur'an;[1] compare also cat. 31

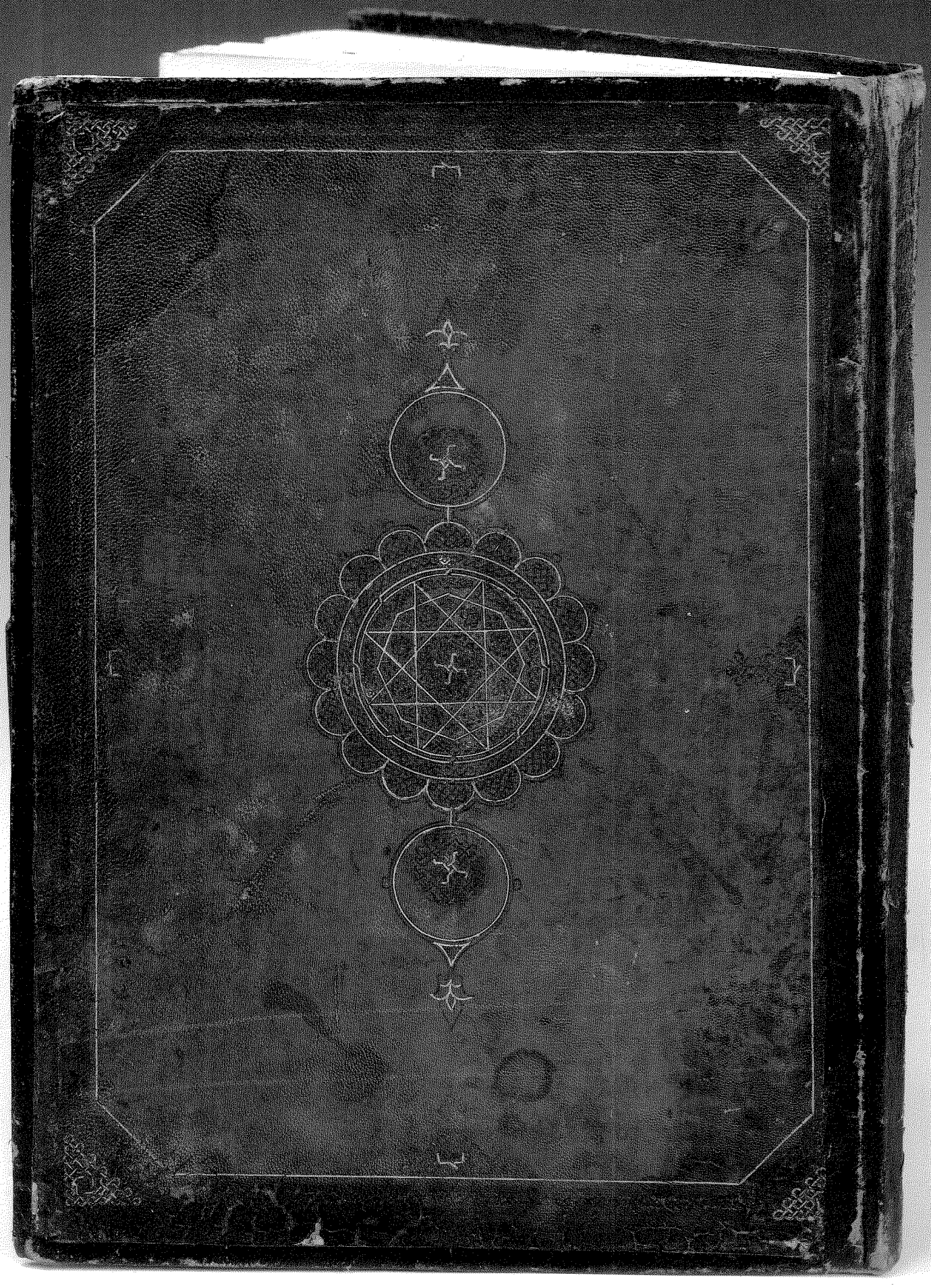
1. For the Shiraz manuscript, see Lings & Safadi 1976, cat.no. 112; and James 1988, cat.no. 71.

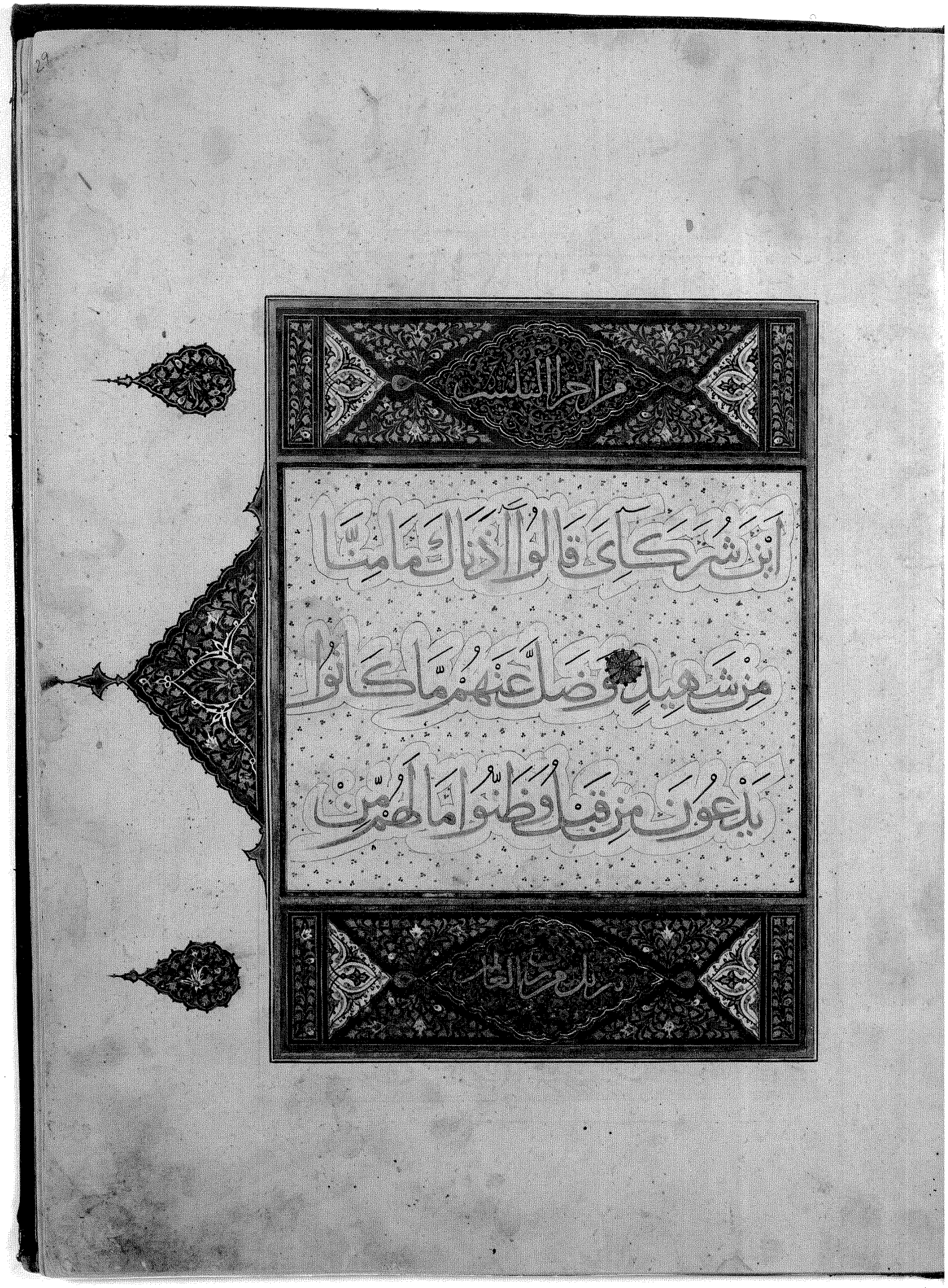
These two sections appear to be from a 30-part Qur'an commissioned by Fars Malik Khatun, sister of the Inju'id ruler of Shiraz, between about 1336 and 1357. Fars Malik Khatun probably died before the task of illuminating all the parts had been completed, as these two sections were decorated in the 1370s. At the beginning of both sections there is an inscription in black *tawqī'* stating that Turanshah, vizier of Shah Shuja', the Muzaffarid ruler of Shiraz between 1364 and 1384, had presented the manuscripts to the Jami' al-'Atiq in Shiraz in AH777/AD1375. The same inscription appears in the two sections from the same Qur'an bound together as cat. 29, as well as in the four sections bound together and now in the Pars Museum in Shiraz. All three manuscripts must have been donated to the Khudakhanah, the Qur'an library in the courtyard of the Jami' al-'Atiq that had been built by Fars Malik Khatun's brother Abu Ishaq in 1351.

Part 24 consists of 27 folios. The opening pages of text are fully illuminated. The text itself is set against a hatched ground without scrolls. The panels above and below the text and the hasps in the outer margins are all decorated in a style that was to become popular under the Timurids in the 15th century; it is entirely different from the illumination in cat. 29, which was most probably decorated in the time of Fars Malik Khatun. The one surah heading is in an undecorated panel. The script of the rest of the text is in gold faintly outlined in black and with black vocalization. Verses are marked by medallions identical to those in Part 14. There are rules in gold and a bluish purple throughout. Groups of five and ten verses are marked by ornaments whose centres are similar to those in Parts 10 and 14 but whose illumination consists of gold sprays or very simple gold and white palmettes.

Part 25 consists of 26 folios. The illumination is broadly similar to that in Part 24. However, the two surah headings are written in black *thulth* outlined in gold on a red hatched ground with a blue treble-dot motif, while the verse-markers consist of gold rosettes with blue dots, and groups of five verses are indicated by ornaments with bright polychrome petals.

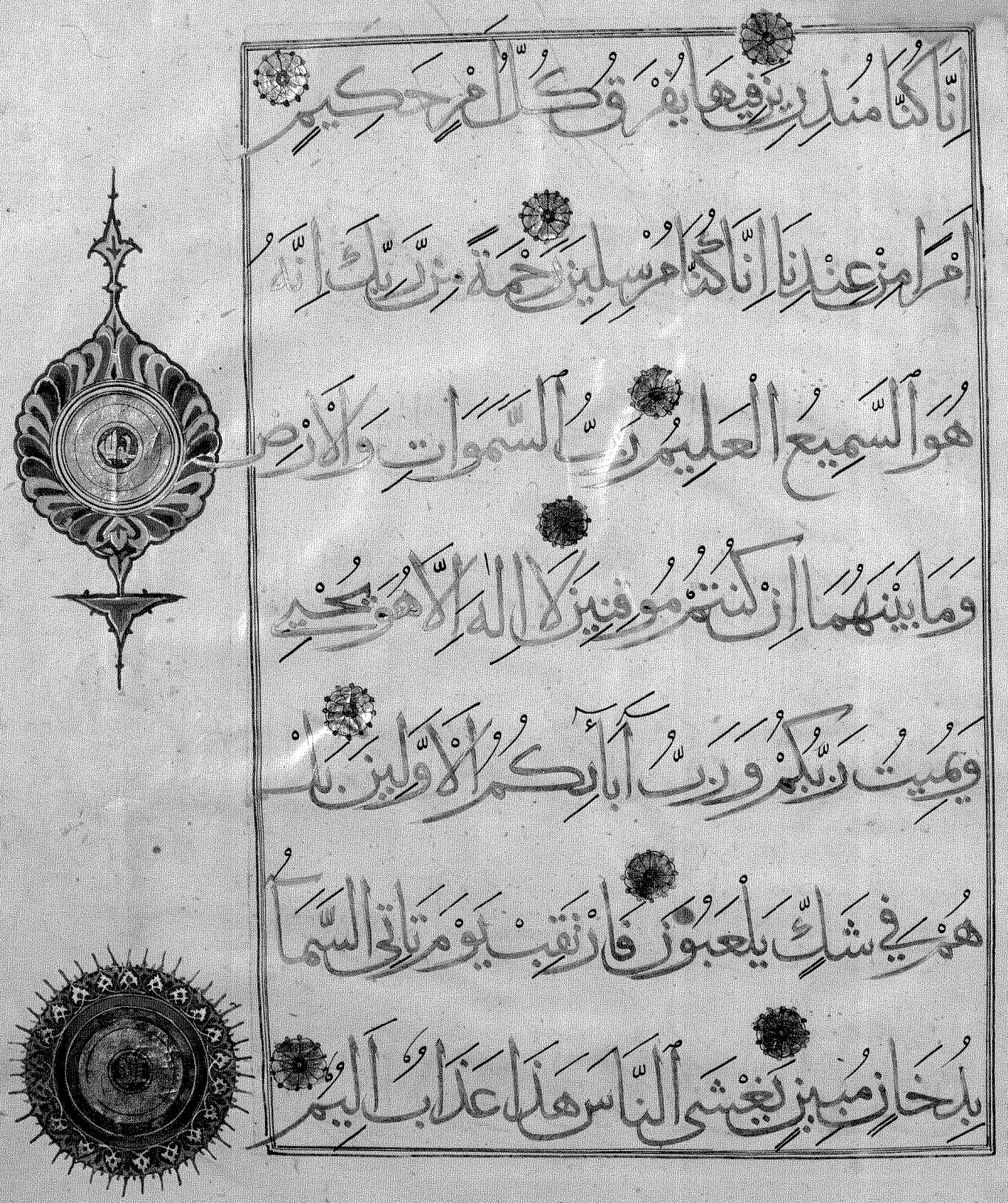
The covers on this manuscript are identical to those on cat. 29, and the covers on both are the same as those on cat. 33. All three bindings most probably date from the time of Turanshah, for the various volumes of the Qur'an were evidently unfinished when he acquired them. After the completion of the illumination, the volumes would then have been bound and deposited in the mosque.





30 folios 28b–29a

الحمد لله الذي
اليه يرد علم الساعة وما تخرج من
ثمرات من اكمامها وما تحمل من انثى
ولا تضع الا بعلمه ويوم ينادي
الا له الخلق



30 folios 46b–47a

الذين يدعون من دونه الشفاعة الا من شهد

بالحق وهم يعلمون ولئن سألتهم من خلقهم

ليقولن الله فانى يؤفكون وقيله يا رب ان

هؤلاء قوم لا يؤمنون فاصفح عنهم وقل سلام

سورة الدخان فسوف يعلمون خمس وسبعون آية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

حم والكتاب المبين انا انزلناه فى ليلة مباركة

31

Volume containing five surahs of the Qur'an

Iran, probably Shiraz, AD1336–1354

73 folios, 21.9×14.3 cm, with 6 lines to the page
Material A barely polished cream paper, laid, with an indeterminate number of lines
Text area 12.2×7.9 cm
Interlinear spacing 1.1 cm
Script Four of the surahs are written in a combination of thulth and naskh, and the fifth is in Kufic; the incidentals are also in Kufic
Documentation Owners' notices
Binding Iran, 16th century
Accession no. QUR242
Comparative items Cats 29–30

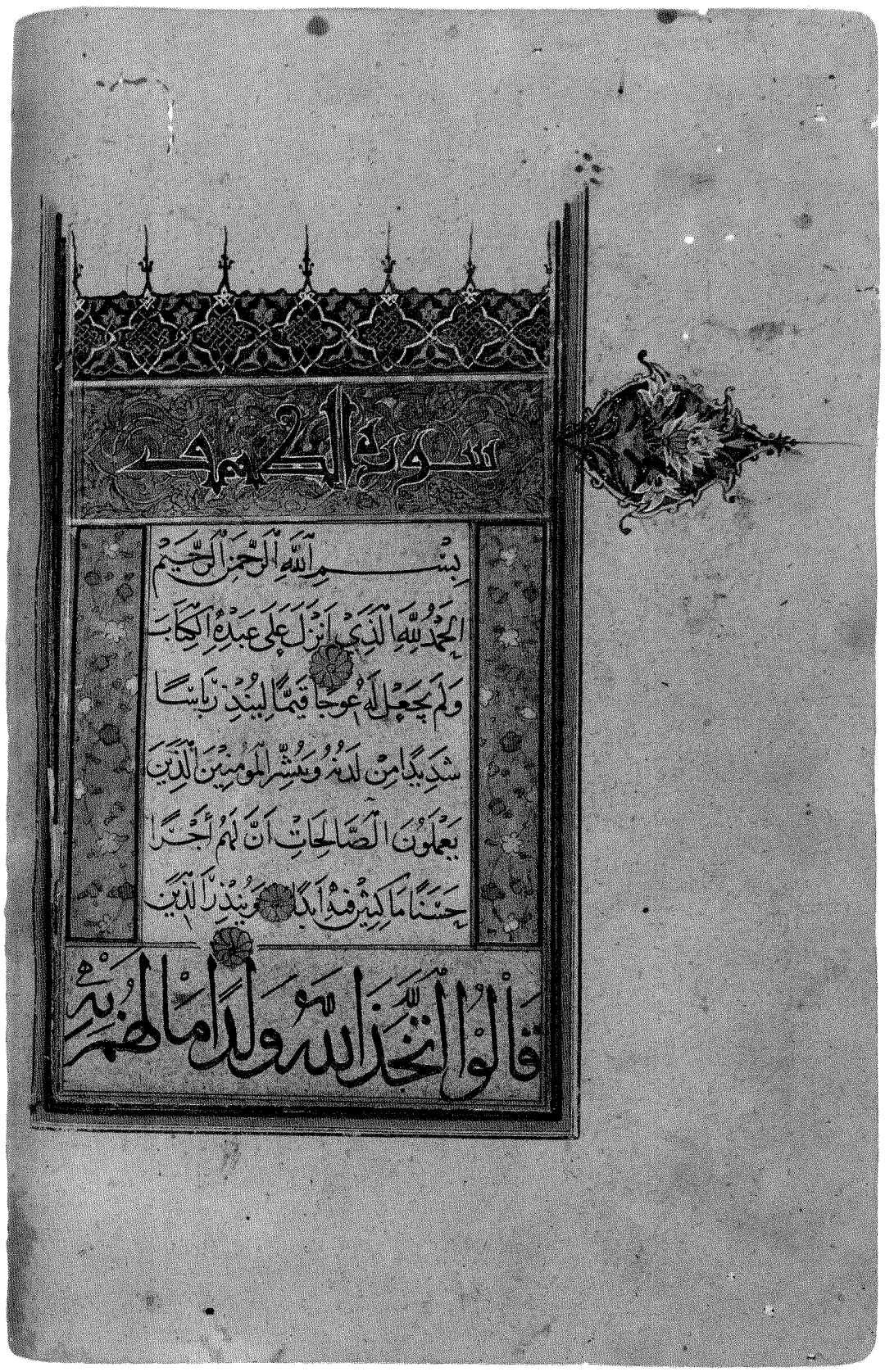
This beautifully written and illuminated volume contains *Sūrat al-fātiḥah* (I), *Sūrat al-an'ām* (VI), *Sūrat al-kahf* (XVIII), *Sūrat Sabā* (XXXIV) and *Sūrat al-malā'ikah* (XXXV). The style of illumination is so close to that of cat. 29 that both manuscripts must have come from the same workshop in Shiraz, where we know that cat. 29 was produced. The colophon on folio 72b, a later addition stuck down over the original page, gives the name of Pir Yahya al-Sufi and the date AH899/AD1493–4. This is clearly a conflation of the Yahya al-Sufi who worked in Shiraz in the 1340s with the Yahya al-Sufi who was a teacher of Ahmed Karahisarî and died in 1477. The manuscript could be by Yahya al-Sufi of Shiraz, as he was living in the city at about the time this manuscript was produced there. No inscription can be seen under the piece of paper bearing the later notice, but this may be because it was erased.

On the opening folios the first verses of *Sūrat al-fātiḥah* are written over a ground of scrolls. Panels above and below the text contain white Kufic inscriptions in cartouches flanked by floral sprays. There are knot and palmette borders and a large hasp in either margin. The text area on subsequent pages is divided into five panels. Those at the top and bottom of the page hold a line of freely written *thulth*, while the space between them contains six lines of *naskh* with panels filled with floral illumination on either side. Verses are punctuated by gold rosettes. Groups of five and ten verses are indicated by marginal ornaments that resemble those in cat. 30.

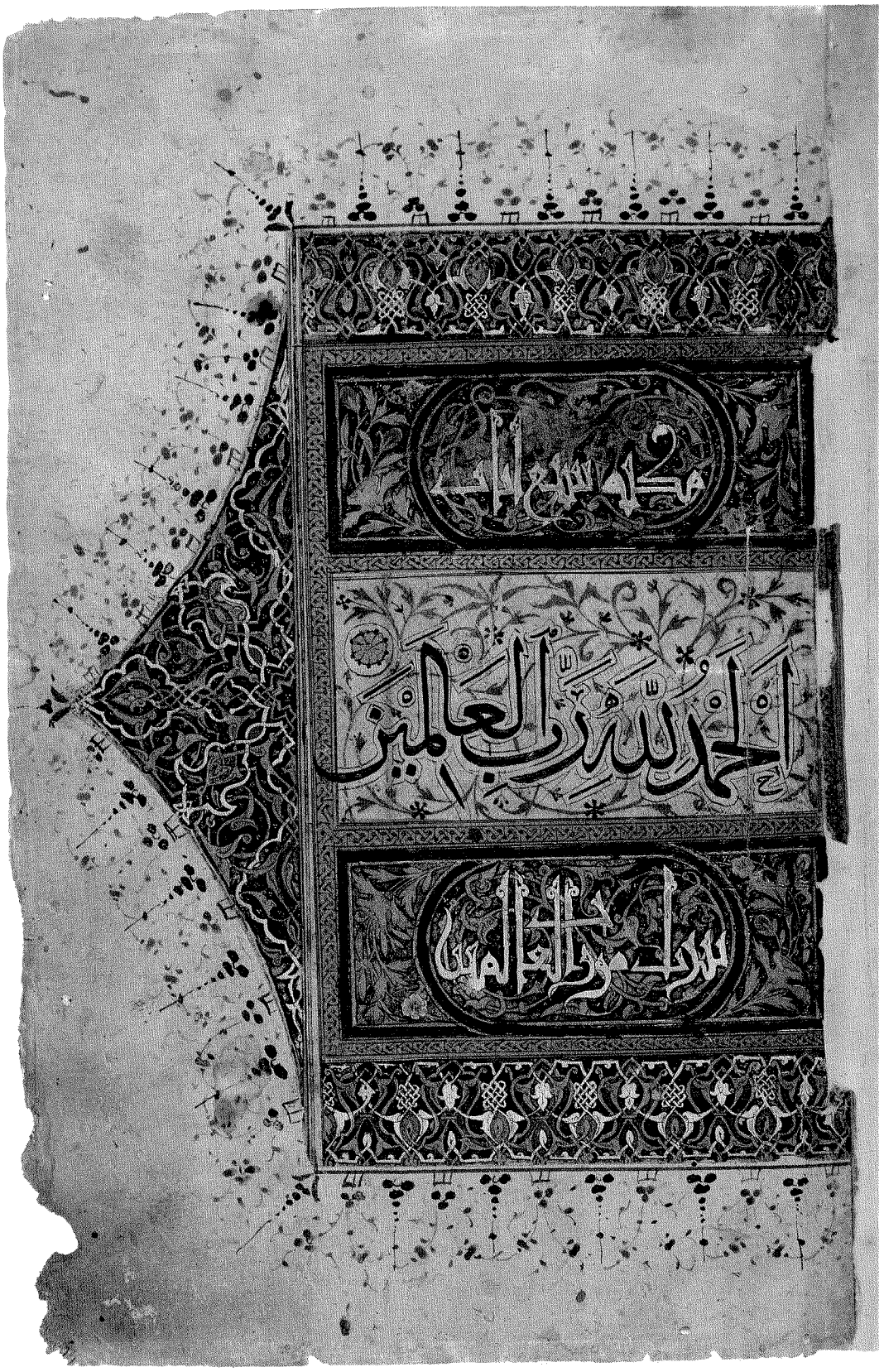
The title of *Sūrat al-kahf* on folio 38b is in blue Kufic and is set within a cartouche with cusped ends. This must be one of the earliest appearances of a motif that is normally associated with the following century. In the margin beside the heading there is a medallion containing a gold floral spray with red and green blossoms, which is very similar to sprays found in cat. 30. Above the cartouche runs a border of knots and palmettes. The page is surrounded by coloured rules which tail off into the upper margin in the Safavid manner. These rules, which appear throughout the manuscript, were added in the 16th century, although the inner gold rules may be original. The decorated side panels are rather unusual in a manuscript of this date and may also be later additions. The final pages, folios 72b–73a, have blue panels with Kufic inscriptions.

The binding is a 16th-century Safavid gilt cover with paper onlay and has a 16th-century Safavid doublure, which is in a damaged state.

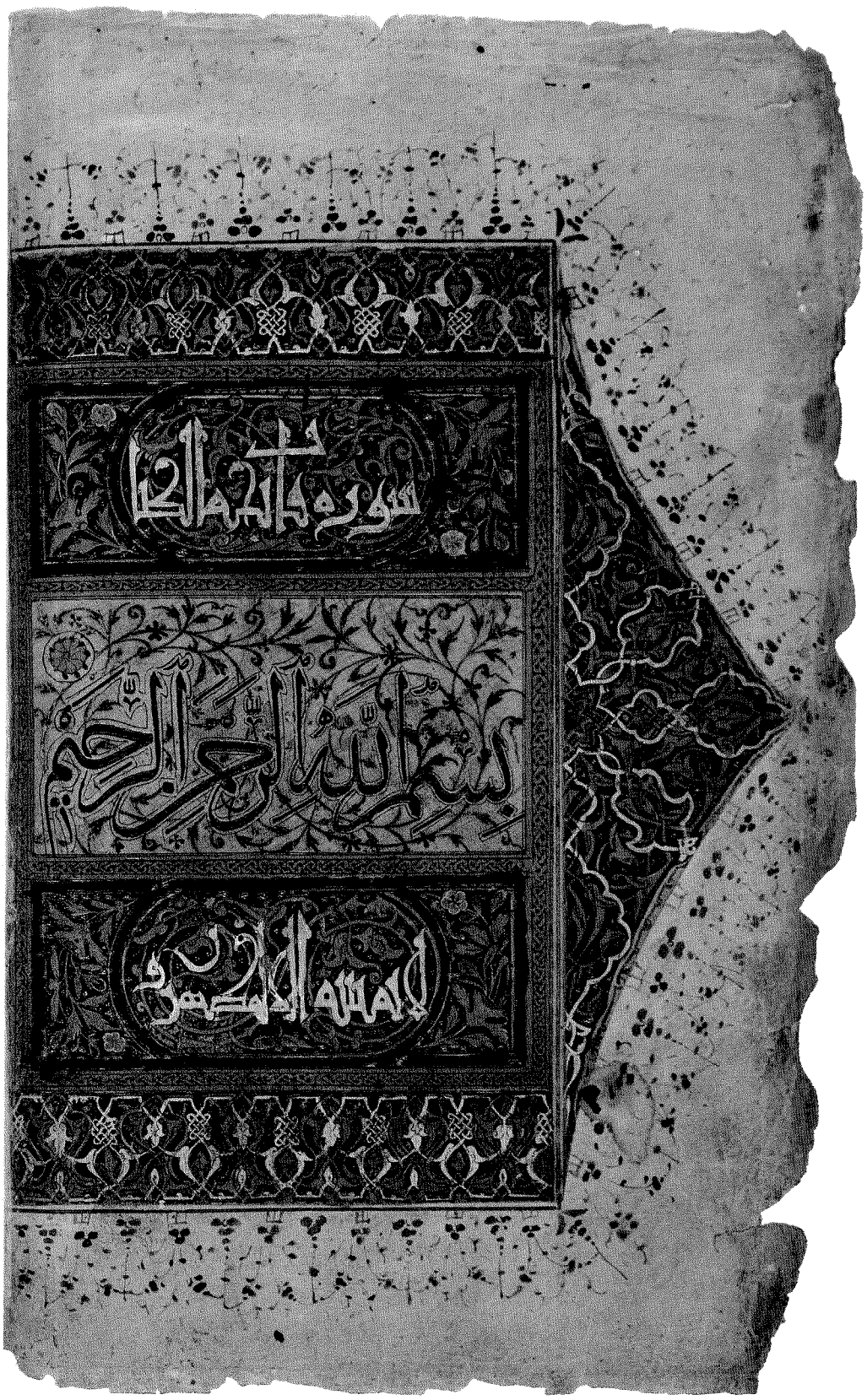
There are a number of later inscriptions and seals. One is an 18th-century Indian seal, of Hasan Muhammad 'Alamgirshahi, and another bears the name of Muhammad Rida. There is also a short 18th-century description of the manuscript on folio 73a.


سورة الكهف
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي انزل على عبده الكتاب
ولم يجعل له عوجا قيما لينذر باسا
شديدا من لدنه ويبشر المومنين الذين
يعملون الصالحات ان لهم اجرا
حسنا ماكثين فيه ابدا وينذر الذين
قالوا اتخذ الله ولدا ما لهم به

*31 folio 38b



*31 folios 1a–2b


سورة الحمد
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب

32

Two folios from a 30-part Qur'an

Iran, probably Shiraz, *circa* AD 1340–1350

First folio 44×26 cm, second folio 44×26.8 cm; both folios have 7 lines to the page
Material The first folio is a deep cream paper, laid, with 5–6 lines to the centimetre; the second is a rough, heavy, cream paper, laid, but with no visible details
Text area 42×24.5 cm for both folios
Interlinear spacing first folio 5.6 cm, second folio 4.8 cm
Script A combination of two sizes of muḥaqqaq
Accession no. QUR484.1–2
Comparative items Shiraz, Pars Museum, MS. 217;[1] Mashhad, Astan-i Quds Library, MS. shelfmark unknown;[2] and cat. 30

The first folio is from Part 10 of the Qur'an and contains *Sūrat al-tawbah* (IX), verses 28–31, while the second folio is from Part 18 and contains *Sūrat al-ḥajj* (XXII), verses 72–73. Despite considerable retouching and rewriting, both folios appear to be from the same manuscript, and they are almost identical to those of a Qur'an section in Shiraz that bears an endowment notice in the name of Jalal al-Din Mas'ud ibn 'Ala' al-Din Muhammad dated AH (?8)74/AD 1469–70. Another section of the same manuscript is in the Astan-i Quds Library, Mashhad. The Shiraz and Mashhad pages are from the second quarter of the 14th century AD, and their decoration is probably by the illuminator of cat. 30.

In all these examples, the text area is divided into five panels. Three contain three lines of large *muḥaqqaq* and are separated by two containing two lines of a smaller *muḥaqqaq*. In cat. 32 the panels are all framed by gold rules. Diacriticals are also in gold, and the vocalization is in blue. On the second folio the vocalization seems to have been reworked in gold. Verses are marked by a roundel bearing the word *āyah* ('verse') in Kufic. The margins have been trimmed.

1. This manuscript contains Part 8 of a 30-part Qur'an. It is unpublished.
2. See Harâtî 1987, p. 180.

كفروا المنكر يكادون

يبطشون بالذين يتلون عليهم اياتنا قل افانبئكم

بشر من ذلكم النار وعدها الله الذين كفروا

ويئس المصير يايها الناس ضرب مثل

فاستمعوا له ان الذين تدعون من دون الله لن

يخلقوا ذبابا ولو اجتمعوا له وان يسلبهم الذباب

شيئا لا يستنقذوه منه ضعف الطالب

33
Part 30 of a 30-part Qur'an

Iran, probably Shiraz, *circa* AD 1370–1400

52 folios, 36.2 × 28 cm, with
5 lines to the page
Material An off-white,
transparent, well-beaten paper,
laid, with 9 lines to the centimetre;
this paper is rather similar to that
of cat. 30
Text area 24.5 × 16.6 cm
Interlinear spacing 4.9 cm
Script Muḥaqqaq
Binding Contemporary
Accession no. QUR 159
Comparative items London,
Victoria & Albert Museum,
MS. 361–1885 is Part 21 of
the same Qur'an;[1] compare
also cats 29 and 30

1. See James 1987, cover.

The illumination in this Qur'an is similar to that in cat. 30, and the binding is identical. It is therefore probable that, like cat. 30, this manuscript was made in Shiraz and endowed to the Jami' al-'Atiq by the Muzaffarid vizier Turanshah *circa* 1375.

The first and final folios are missing. The verses are punctuated by gold rosettes. Groups of five verses are marked in the margins by a pear-shaped motif, and groups of ten verses by a medallion. The text on the opening page is framed by ornamental panels, and in the outer margin there is a large hasp decorated with floral sprays in the manner of manuscripts from Shiraz produced in the last quarter of the 14th century and at the beginning of the 15th.

The brown morocco binding is decorated in blind tooling with a central lobed medallion with pendants and a central gold geometric star. There are blind-tooled stamped borders with triangular projections into the central field. These covers are identical to the bindings of cats 29 and 30 and, like those, must date from the 1370s.

الجزء الثلثون

ألم نجعل الأرض مهادا والجبال
أوتادا وخلقناكم أزواجا
وجعلنا نومكم سباتا

تبارك ربك رب العالمين

33 folio 1a

لِرَبِّهَا وَحُقَّتْ ۝ وَإِذَا الْأَرْضُ مُدَّتْ

وَأَلْقَتْ مَا فِيهَا وَتَخَلَّتْ ۝ وَأَذِنَتْ

لِرَبِّهَا وَحُقَّتْ ۝ يَا أَيُّهَا الْإِنْسَانُ

إِنَّكَ كَادِحٌ إِلَىٰ رَبِّكَ كَدْحًا

فَمُلَاقِيهِ ۝ فَأَمَّا مَنْ أُوتِيَ كِتَابَهُ

يَنظُرُونَ هَلْ ثُوِّبَ ٱلْكُفَّارُ
مَا كَانُوا يَفْعَلُونَ

سُورَةُ ٱلْإِنشِقَاقِ خَمْسٌ وَعِشْرُونَ آيَةً

بِسْمِ ٱللَّهِ ٱلرَّحْمَٰنِ ٱلرَّحِيمِ

إِذَا ٱلسَّمَاءُ ٱنشَقَّتْ وَأَذِنَتْ

34
Single-volume Qur'an

Iraq or Iran, *circa* AD 1340–1360

115 folios, 38.9×28 cm, with 19 lines to the page
Material An off-white Italian paper of circa 1340; it is laid, with 4 lines to the centimetre, and bears a watermark with a double key design
Text area 27.5×18 cm
Interlinear spacing 1.5 cm
Script The main text in naskh, incidentals in thulth
Binding Ottoman, late 19th century
Accession no. QUR561
Comparative item Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. arab.5468.[1]

1. Ettinghausen 1962, p. 119.
2. Briquet 1923, I, nos 3809–10.
3. Minorsky 1934, pp. 1061–2.
4. MS.arab.5468.
5. Heawood 1950, no. 878, from a *General Atlas* in Turkish.

The manuscript could not be more simply written. The text is copied in a fine, slightly archaic *naskh*. The illumination too is restrained: verses are marked by gold rosettes, while surah headings are written in gold *thulth* and are undecorated. Nevertheless, the manuscript has two striking features. The first is that, as far as we are aware, this Qur'an is the only known 14th-century example written on European paper. This practice became reasonably common in later centuries, but this appears to be the earliest instance. The paper is of Italian origin and is heavily watermarked with a double-key design surmounted by a cross. Almost identical examples from Arezzo and Torcello, near Venice, are dated 1340 and 1343 respectively.[2] The use of Italian paper in the Jalayirid territories in Iraq and Iran in the 14th century is almost certainly due to the trading activities of Italian merchants. Both the Genoese and Venetians were given trading privileges by the Jalayirid sultan Uvays (*reg* 1356–74).[3]

The second striking feature of the manuscript is that part of the text on each page was written in the margin in a zigzag pattern; in other words, when the scribe reached the bottom of the page, he continued the text in the margin. The reason for this is unclear, but it may have been a shortage of paper, and the fact that the scribe was using imported European paper would support this explanation.

We have no indication as to where the manuscript was copied, since the loss of the final pages means that the colophon is missing. Moreover, the opening page is a replacement, and there is no illumination to serve as a guide. The *naskh* hand of the manuscript does not resemble those normally used in Mamluk Egypt or Syria in the 14th century. Indeed, the archaic form of the letter *kāf* would be most unusual in a 14th-century Mamluk Qur'an. However, the zigzag presentation of the text may offer a clue to its provenance, for commentaries or glosses arranged in this striking fashion do occur in a number of manuscripts produced in Iraq or the Jazirah during the 13th century. The most notable example is the commentary on the many difficult words in the text found in a copy of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hariri produced in Baghdad in 1237 and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[4]

The first page and folios 61–64 are replacements. These are on European watermarked paper that dates from the early 19th century and appears to be the same as that used for an atlas printed in Constantinople in 1803.[5]

الَّذِي أَنزَلَ مَعَهُ ۙ أُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ ﴿٨﴾ يَوْمَ يَجْمَعُكُمْ لِيَوْمِ الْجَمْعِ ذَٰلِكَ
يَوْمُ التَّغَابُنِ ۗ وَمَن يُؤْمِنۢ بِاللَّهِ وَيَعْمَلْ صَالِحًا يُكَفِّرْ عَنْهُ سَيِّئَاتِهِ
وَيُدْخِلْهُ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي مِن تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا أَبَدًا ۚ
ذَٰلِكَ الْفَوْزُ الْعَظِيمُ ﴿٩﴾ وَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا وَكَذَّبُوا بِآيَاتِنَا
أُولَٰئِكَ أَصْحَابُ النَّارِ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا ۖ وَبِئْسَ الْمَصِيرُ ﴿١٠﴾ مَا أَصَابَ
مِن مُّصِيبَةٍ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ ۗ وَمَن يُؤْمِنۢ بِاللَّهِ يَهْدِ قَلْبَهُ ۚ وَاللَّهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ
عَلِيمٌ ﴿١١﴾ وَأَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ ۚ فَإِن تَوَلَّيْتُمْ فَإِنَّمَا عَلَىٰ رَسُولِنَا الْبَلَاغُ الْمُبِينُ ﴿١٢﴾
اللَّهُ لَا إِلَٰهَ إِلَّا هُوَ ۚ وَعَلَى اللَّهِ فَلْيَتَوَكَّلِ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ ﴿١٣﴾ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا
إِنَّ مِنْ أَزْوَاجِكُمْ وَأَوْلَادِكُمْ عَدُوًّا لَّكُمْ فَاحْذَرُوهُمْ ۚ وَإِن
تَعْفُوا وَتَصْفَحُوا وَتَغْفِرُوا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ ﴿١٤﴾ إِنَّمَا أَمْوَالُكُمْ
وَأَوْلَادُكُمْ فِتْنَةٌ ۚ وَاللَّهُ عِندَهُ أَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ ﴿١٥﴾ فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ مَا
اسْتَطَعْتُمْ وَاسْمَعُوا وَأَطِيعُوا وَأَنفِقُوا خَيْرًا لِّأَنفُسِكُمْ ۗ وَمَن يُوقَ شُحَّ
نَفْسِهِ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ ﴿١٦﴾ إِن تُقْرِضُوا اللَّهَ قَرْضًا حَسَنًا يُضَاعِفْهُ
لَكُمْ وَيَغْفِرْ لَكُمْ ۚ وَاللَّهُ شَكُورٌ حَلِيمٌ ﴿١٧﴾ عَالِمُ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ ﴿١٨﴾

سُورَةُ الطَّلَاقِ اثْنَتَا عَشْرَةَ آيَةً

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ إِذَا طَلَّقْتُمُ النِّسَاءَ فَطَلِّقُوهُنَّ لِعِدَّتِهِنَّ وَأَحْصُوا الْعِدَّةَ ۖ وَاتَّقُوا
اللَّهَ رَبَّكُمْ ۖ لَا تُخْرِجُوهُنَّ مِن بُيُوتِهِنَّ وَلَا يَخْرُجْنَ إِلَّا أَن يَأْتِينَ بِفَاحِشَةٍ

35
Single folio

Iran, *circa* AD 1370–1400

35 × 22 cm, with 5 lines to the page
Material A deep cream polished paper, probably wove but with no visible details
Text area 28 × 16.2 cm
Interlinear spacing 4.6 cm
Script Muḥaqqaq
Accession no. QUR480
Comparative items Istanbul, Museum of Turkish & Islamic Arts, MS. 564;[1] and Mashhad, Astan-i Quds Library, MS. 145.[2]

1. Lentz & Lowry 1989, cat.no. 19.
2. Ma'ani 1347, cat.no. 56, p. 129.
3. See the illustration of the colophon at Ma'ani 1347, p. 125. The verse-marker reproduced there is almost identical to that of cat. 35.

The text is written in a fine *muḥaqqaq* hand with occasional reading marks in red and green. Verses are punctuated by large gold rosettes in concentric green, gold and blue borders with projecting spikes. There is a surrounding border of multiple gold and blue rules.

The whereabouts of the rest of the manuscript are unknown. The *muḥaqqaq* hand, the large verse-markers and the ruled borders (two gold and two blue lines) are similar to those of a Qur'an now divided between the Museum of Turkish & Islamic Arts in Istanbul and the Astan-i Quds Library in Mashhad. This was copied in 30 parts by Shaykh Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Tughra'i, called Matarji, in AH 809/AD 1406–7.[3]

On this page the impressed lines to guide the scribe can be seen very clearly. These give an exact series of measurements. The length of the line is 15.1 cm; the height of the script is 2.1 cm; the distance between the base line of one line of script and the upper limit of the following line is 2.4 cm; the distance between the base lines is 4.6 cm. It is rare to find these basic measurements so clearly visible.

480 119 No 42

مِن قَبلُ إِن كُنتُم مُّؤمِنِينَ ۝

وَلَقَد جَآءَكُم مُّوسَىٰ بِالبَيِّنَٰتِ

ثُمَّ اتَّخَذتُمُ العِجلَ مِن بَعدِهِ وَأَنتُم

ظَٰلِمُونَ ۝ وَإِذ أَخَذنَا مِيثَٰقَكُم

وَرَفَعنَا فَوقَكُمُ الطُّورَ ط

The Mamluks of Egypt and Syria

In the middle of the 13th century AD the territories of the Ayyubid dynasty in Egypt and Syria came under the control of the Mamluks, slaves who had served the Ayyubid sultans as soldiers. The Mamluk regime lasted down to the Ottoman conquest of the region in 1516–17, and during that period its leading members became great patrons of mosques, madrasahs, *khānaqāh*s and other religious establishments. The Mamluks also commissioned Qur'ans with magnificent geometric frontispieces for use in these institutions, the best copies being produced in the 14th century and the first decade of the 15th century.

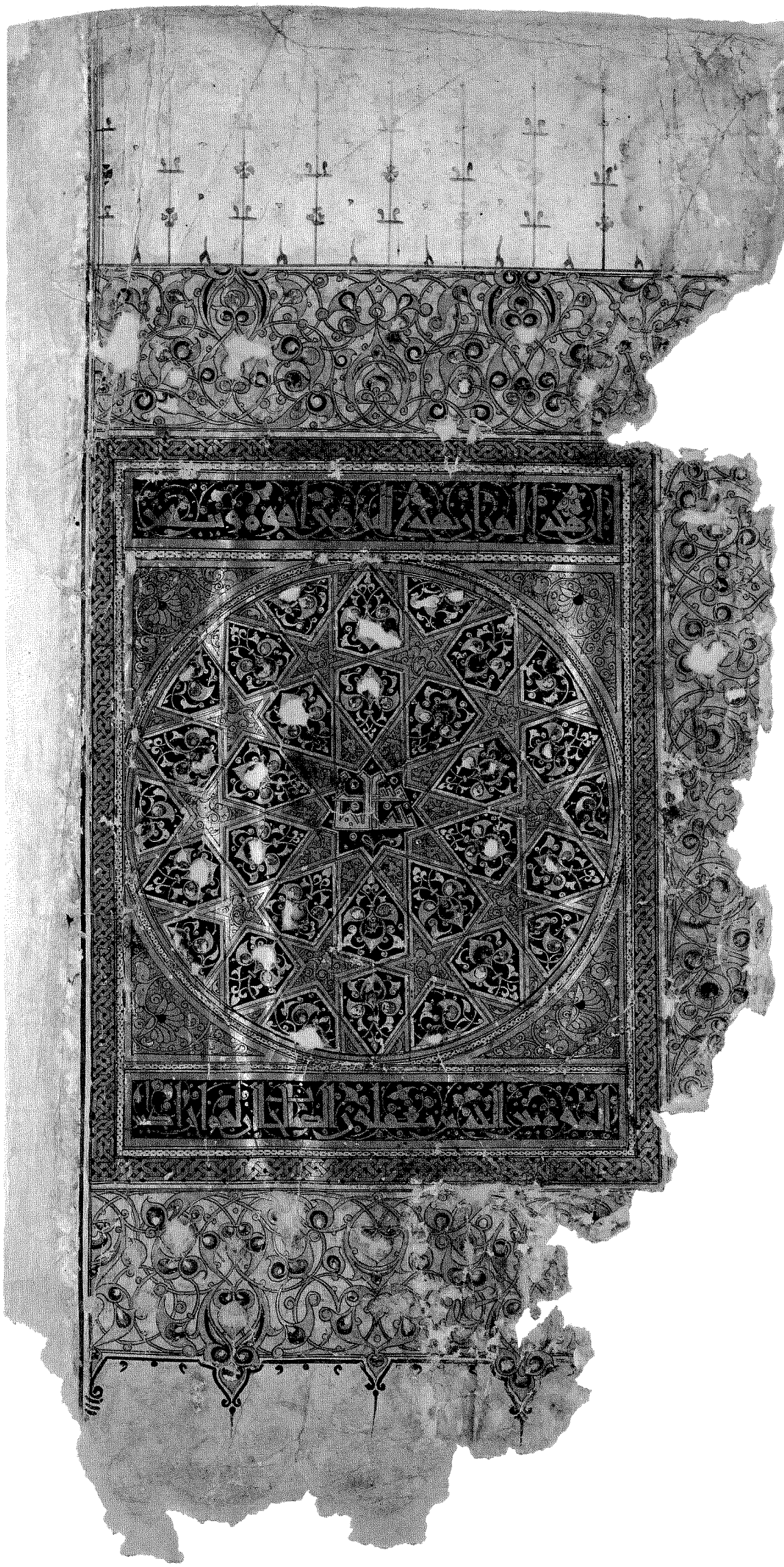
The earliest Mamluk Qur'an of which we are aware is in seven volumes and was copied for Baybars al-Jashnikir in 1304–6.[1] It was produced by a group of artists that included the illuminator Sandal and his pupil Aydughdi, through whom Sandal's style maintained its influence until the 1330s. Most Mamluk Qur'ans from the first two decades of the 14th century are single-volume copies of modest size that were written in *naskh*. By 1320 a larger type of manuscript makes its appearance; the script of these is *muḥaqqaq*, and the illumination, although less imaginative, is still of a high quality. Several Qur'ans of this new type are the work of Ahmad al-Mutatabbib, who was both a scribe and an illuminator. He is also one of the few Mamluk calligraphers whose work is represented by more than one Qur'an.[2]

Qur'an illumination in Cairo declined in the 1340s and 1350s, but a much higher standard seems to have been maintained in Damascus. Two manuscripts of this period have colophons that give Damascus as their place of origin, one being cat. 43. The colophon of this manuscript is particularly specific, as the scribe recorded the very building where he worked on it, the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. This information establishes Damascus as a source for manuscripts produced in the same style as those made for Sultan Sha'ban after 1363, quite possibly in the same city.[3] The Qur'ans made for this sultan and his mother, Khwand Barakah, contain the most developed form of the typical Mamluk frontispiece. This consists of a star-polygon which repeats itself in the four corners of the rectangle or square in which it is constructed.

In the second half of the reign of Sha'ban, between 1369 and 1376, an entirely new style of painting associated with an artist called Ibrahim al-Amidi made its appearance. Instead of designs based on the star-polygon motif, Ibrahim al-Amidi employed large blocks of pattern, incorporating eccentric shapes and sometimes abandoning the accepted rules of geometric construction. He also introduced an entirely different palette that had a much greater range and was much more like those of Iraq and Iran in the first half of the 14th century.[4]

Besides cat. 43, several other outstanding Mamluk Qur'ans are catalogued below. These include two large volumes with fine calligraphy and illumination in what was shortly to become the classic Mamluk manner. One of these, cat. 41, is dated AH 729/AD 1329 and was donated to the mosque of the amir Qusun in Cairo. The mosque was built in the same year, and the Qur'an was probably commissioned for it. The other manuscript, cat. 36, is undated but belongs to approximately the same period; it retains its original binding decorated in a geometric style.

1. London, British Library, ADD.MSS 22,406–22,413; see James 1988, chapter 3.
2. James 1988, cat.nos 15–18.
3. See pp. 172–5 below.
4. Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MSS 9, 10 and 15; see James 1988, cat.nos 31, 32, 34 and 35.



36 folio 351b

36

Single-volume Qur'an

Mamluk, probably Cairo, *circa* AD 1330–1340

351 folios, 53.5×38.8 cm, with 11 lines to the page
Material A cream, even paper with inclusions, laid, with 7–8 lines to the centimetre; rib shadows are visible 6 cm apart. Each bifolio consists of two separate folios glued together
Text area 39×24.6 cm
Interlinear spacing 3.6 cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in thulth and Kufic
Documentation Two notices of endowment
Binding Contemporary, restored
Accession no. QUR349
Comparative item Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MS. 81.[1]

1. Lings 1976, pl. 63.
2. James 1988, chapter 3.

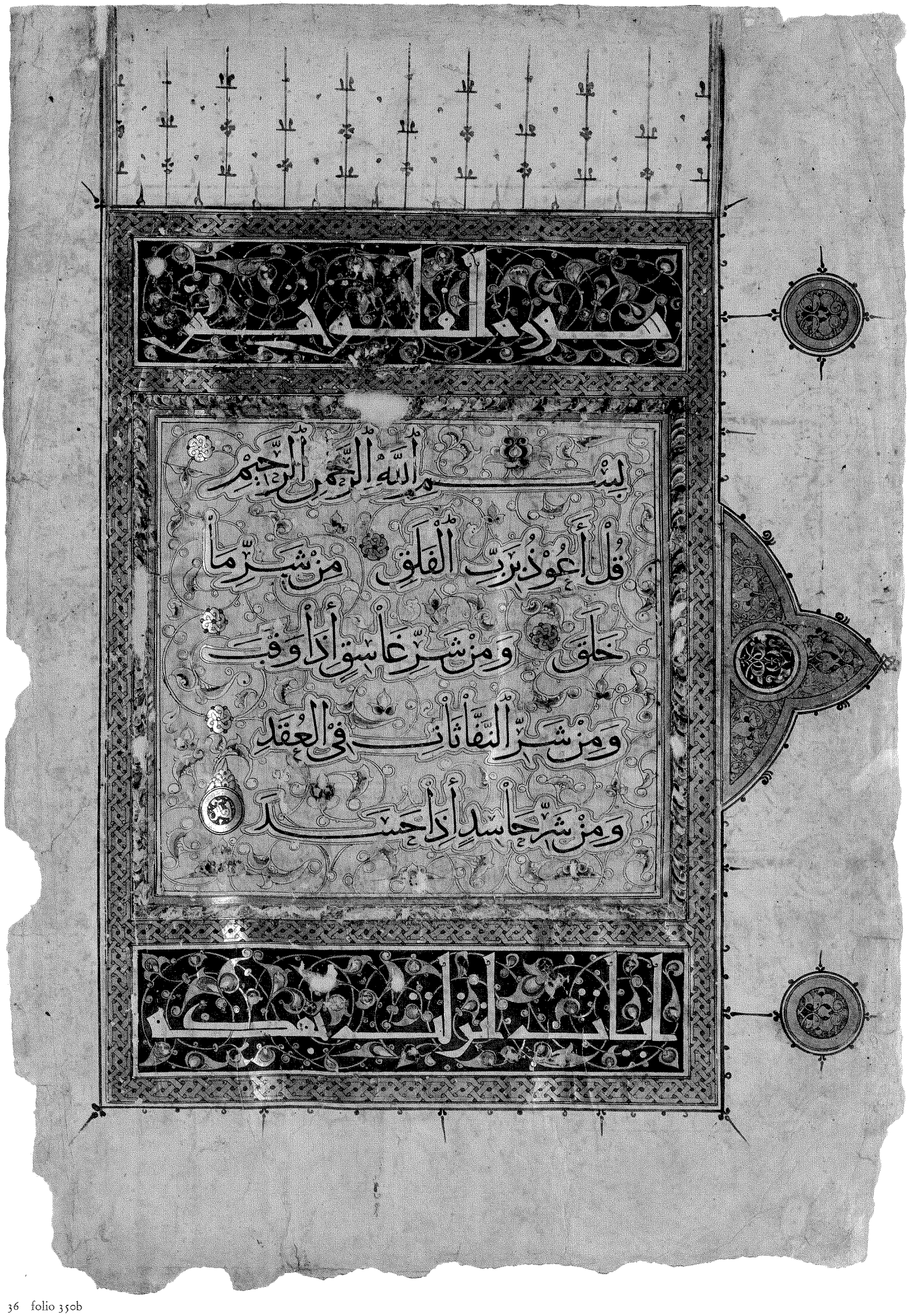
The opening pages of text are decorated in the style of Mamluk Qur'ans of the first quarter of the 14th century: the scrolls over which the text was written are of the type associated with the master painter Sandal,[2] and the surah titles and verse counts given in panels above and below the text were written in a large white Kufic typical of the period. The left-hand margin has been lost, but the right-hand contains a hasp motif flanked by medallions above and below. At the top of both pages there is a border of palmettes, an unusual feature for the period. The final pages of text, folios 350b–351a, are decorated in the same manner, although they lack the palmette borders at the top. An additional inner border of brown and blue petals surrounds the panel containing the text, and there is a composite blossom in the scrollwork at the top of both panels which is a forerunner of those found in Mamluk manuscripts of the 1360s and 1370s.

The other main illuminated elements in the manuscript are fragmentary. Folio 1a contains part of the left-hand half of the frontispiece, whose design, like that of the binding and several other Mamluk frontispieces, was based on a 12-pointed star-polygon. The interstices of the geometric trellis contain arabesque motifs, and the central star-polygon motif is repeated in the four corners. The border is composed of palmettes decorated with a tear-drop motif, but the border along the vertical margin has been lost.

Surah headings in the main body of the manuscript are in large gold *thulth* over scrolls on fine red-hatched grounds. Verses are punctuated by gold rosettes. Groups of five verses are marked in the margin by pointed ornaments that bear the word *khams* ('five') in Kufic, while groups of ten verses are marked by circular devices inscribed with the actual number of verses. The text is divided into *ḥizbs* (sixtieths), which are indicated by inscriptions in gold marking each *ḥizb*, half-*ḥizb* and quarter-*ḥizb*.

The last page, folio 351b, bears the remains of a fine piece of illumination, which would originally have had a companion page. The ten-pointed star-polygon at its centre is surrounded by a geometric trellis contained within a circle, a very unusual design which may be unique for the period. Towards the end of the manuscript the upper margins have been extended in a fashion that suggests that the work was done after the 15th century. The gold and coloured rules around each page of text may also be a later addition, as they are rarely found in Cairo manuscripts before 1370. They occur in Syrian Mamluk Qur'ans from the 1340s, but the gold of the rulings is of an inferior quality to that of the rest of the manuscript.

The binding is entirely restored, but the original black morocco outer covers have been retained. They are decorated with a star-polygon with 14 points and are surrounded by a geometric trellis whose interstices are filled with interlace.


سورة الفلق
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
قل أعوذ برب الفلق من شر ما
خلق ومن شر غاسق إذا وقب
ومن شر النفاثات في العقد
ومن شر حاسد إذا حسد
سورة الناس

37
Part 10 of a 30-part Qur'an

Mamluk or Iranian, *circa* AD 1300–1325

51 folios, 34×25.2 cm, with
5 lines to the page
Material A cream, well-beaten paper, laid, with perhaps 10 lines to the centimetre
Text area 24.7×16 cm
Interlinear spacing 5.5 cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in thulth and Kufic
Binding Contemporary
Accession no. QUR108

The strength of the script, which is a bold *muḥaqqaq*, and the sparse, yet varied, illumination suggest that this manuscript came from a thriving centre of manuscript production, but it is not clear whether the centre in question was in Iran or in the Mamluk empire.

The decoration includes an illuminated heading giving the section number at the top of folio 1b and a single surah heading in gold *thulth* with green-gold vocalization. Verses are punctuated by rosettes with green-gold centres. Groups of five verses are marked in the margin by pendants with irregular blue borders, and groups of ten by medallions that contain the appropriate number in Kufic. These are surrounded by a leaf or segmented border in gold or a chain-link, pearl or tooth-and-dash border in white. The text on the final opening is surrounded by broad gold rules. Little of this illumination is distinctive. Three features – the use of circular medallions with radiating strokes to mark groups of ten verses, of blue geometric lines to mark groups of five verses and of orange squares in the interlace borders – hardly ever occur in Cairene manuscripts before 1350, but they can be found in Iranian, Iraqi and Syrian work before that date.[1]

The brown morocco binding has blind-tooled borders and a central motif in the form of a blind-tooled eight-pointed star.

1. One of the earliest Syrian manuscripts with these features is Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1473, a Qur'an produced in Tripoli of Syria in 1323; see James 1980, cat.no. 69. The orange squares are found in Cairo, Coptic Museum, MS. 90; see Simaika Pasha 1939, pls XVIII–XX.

38
Qur'an fragment

Mamluk or Iranian, *circa* AD 1300–1325

97 folios, 37×26.2 cm, with
7 lines to the page
Material A buff paper with the remains of chain lines and rib shadows visible
Text area 31.5×20.5 cm
Interlinear spacing 4.3 cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in thulth
Binding Modern
Accession no. QUR177
Comparative item Cat. 37

This fragment, comprising surahs VII–XVIII, is written in a large *muḥaqqaq* similar to that of cat. 37, although it does not appear to be by the same scribe. Like cat. 37 it is sparsely illuminated. Surah headings are in gold *thulth*, and verses are punctuated with gold rosettes. The marginal illumination, which might have provided evidence of where or when the manuscript was produced, was lost when the pages were heavily trimmed.

فَالسَّابِقَاتِ سَبْقًا ۞ فَالْمُدَبِّرَاتِ أَمْرًا

يَوْمَ تَرْجُفُ الرَّاجِفَةُ ۞ تَتْبَعُهَا الرَّادِفَةُ

قُلُوبٌ يَوْمَئِذٍ وَاجِفَةٌ ۞ أَبْصَارُهَا

خَاشِعَةٌ ۞ يَقُولُونَ أَئِنَّا لَمَرْدُودُونَ فِي

الْحَافِرَةِ ۞ أَئِذَا كُنَّا عِظَامًا نَخِرَةً ۞ قَالُوا

تِلْكَ إِذًا كَرَّةٌ خَاسِرَةٌ ۞ فَإِنَّمَا هِيَ

زَجْرَةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ فَإِذَا هُمْ بِالسَّاهِرَةِ

أَنْ أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَىٰ رَجُلٍ مِنْهُمْ أَنْ

أَنْذِرِ النَّاسَ وَبَشِّرِ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا

أَنَّ لَهُمْ قَدَمَ صِدْقٍ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ

قَالَ الْكَافِرُونَ إِنَّ هَٰذَا لَسَاحِرٌ

مُبِينٌ إِنَّ رَبَّكُمُ اللَّهُ الَّذِي خَلَقَ

37 folios 15b–16a

رَبُّ الْعَرْشِ الْعَظِيمِ

سُورَةُ يُونُسَ مَكِّيَّةٌ وَهِيَ مِائَةٌ وَتِسْعُ آيَاتٍ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الر تِلْكَ آيَاتُ الْكِتَابِ

الْحَكِيمِ أَكَانَ لِلنَّاسِ عَجَبًا

39
Two folios from Part 14 of a 30-part Qur'an

Mamluk, probably Cairo, *circa* AD 1310–1320

Both folios 26.5 × 19 cm, with 4 lines to the page
Material A cream paper with many inclusions but no other visible details
Text area 17 × 10.5 cm
Interlinear spacing 5.2 cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in Kufic
Accession no. QUR562
Comparative items Part 19 of the same Qur'an is Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1461, while Parts 22 and 24 are in the Muhammad Mahdi al-Tajir Collection.[1]

1. For the Dublin MS. 1461, see Arberry 1967, cat.no. 81. For the others, see Lings & Safadi 1976, cat.nos 77–8.
2. James 1988, fig. 13.

These folios contain *Sūrat al-isrā'* (XVII), verses 109–11, and *Sūrat al-kahf* (XVIII), verses 1–2, and come from a dispersed 30-part Qur'an, parts of which are in Dublin and in the collection of Muhammad Mahdi al-Tajir. No complete Mamluk Qur'an in 30 parts has survived from the early 14th century, probably because they were often used in Sufi collective reading sessions, which exposed them to frequent wear and tear. Despite the fact that they were sometimes housed in elaborate containers, such as an inlaid metal box dated 1327–8,[2] even odd volumes from such sets are rare, and the earliest surviving example appears to have been written in the 1330s.

The well-written and well-illuminated Qur'an from which these folios were detached is unusual for its four-line format. The surah heading of *Sūrat al-kahf* was written in white in a firm, short Eastern Kufic hand typical of Mamluk Qur'ans of the first two decades of the 14th century. The competence of the illumination seems to confirm this dating.

39
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Material A cream paper with many inclusions but no other visible details
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وَلَمْ يَجْعَل لَّهُ عِوَجًا قَيِّمًا لِّيُنذِرَ بَأْسًا شَدِيدًا مِّن لَّدُنْهُ وَيُبَشِّرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ الَّذِينَ يَعْمَلُونَ الصَّالِحَاتِ أَنَّ لَهُمْ أَجْرًا حَسَنًا مَّاكِثِينَ فِيهِ أَبَدًا وَيُنذِرَ الَّذِينَ قَالُوا اتَّخَذَ اللَّهُ وَلَدًا

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَنزَلَ عَلَىٰ عَبْدِهِ

40

Single folio

Possibly Yemen, *circa* AD 1300–1350

39.2×32 cm, with 13 lines to the page
Material A hard, thin off-white paper, laid, with 5–6 lines to the centimetre; chain lines are visible, about 10 cm apart
Text area 33.5×22.5 cm
Interlinear spacing 2 cm
Script A combination of naskh, muḥaqqaq and thulth
Accession no. QUR850

This folio contains *Sūrat Luqmān* (XXXI), verses 33–34, and *Sūrat al-sajdah* (XXXII), verses 1–7. Although it may have come from a Mamluk Qur'an, there are several reasons for suggesting an alternative source. One relates to the combination of scripts used. Most of the text is written in black *naskh*, but the first and last lines on each page are in black *muḥaqqaq* outlined in gold, and the middle line, the seventh, is in gold *thulth* outlined in black; the loops in the gold letters were filled in with black ink. Mamluk Qur'ans were rarely copied in different types of script, and none is known with three styles on the same page. Black *muḥaqqaq* outlined in gold is also very rare in Mamluk Qur'ans.

Other evidence for a non-Mamluk source for this folio is provided by the decoration of the one surah heading, that of *Sūrat al-sajdah*. This is in white Kufic and is set within a panel with squares of gold interlace at either end and a pear-shaped palmette in the outer margin. The squares of interlace are often found in this position in Ilkhanid manuscripts, but they are seldom seen in Mamluk work.

Several pages from the same manuscript were in the hands of a London dealer in the early 1980s, but their current whereabouts are unknown. According to uncorroborated information, the manuscript came from Yemen and dates from the Rasulid period (1229–1454). If true, this would explain why these pages have a superficially Mamluk appearance but clearly belong to another tradition. Although Rasulid Qur'ans are said to survive in Yemen, none has been reproduced.

Verses are punctuated by large rosettes. Each fifth verse is indicated in the margin by a gold pear-shaped device with a floral motif in the centre and an irregular blue border culminating in a long finial. The devices marking each tenth verse consist of the word *'ashar* ('ten') in a gold circle with a blue border and radiating hair-strokes. On the *recto* the lines of *muḥaqqaq* have been rewritten on pieces of paper stuck over the original text. The text must have been damaged or corrupt at these points.

يجزي والد عن ولده ولا

مولود هو جاز عن والده شيئا ان وعد الله حق فلا تغرنكم الحيوة الدنيا ولا يغرنكم

بالله الغرور ۞ ان الله عنده علم الساعة وينزل الغيث ويعلم ما في الارحام وما

تدري نفس ماذا تكسب غدا وما تدري نفس باي ارض تموت ان الله عليم خبير ۞

سورة السجدة تسع وعشرون اية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الم تنزيل الكتاب لا ريب فيه من رب العالمين ۞ ام يقولون افتريه بل هو الحق من ربك

لتنذر قوما ما اتيهم من نذير من قبلك لعلهم يهتدون ۞ الله الذي خلق السموات والارض

وما بينهما في ستة ايام ثم استوى على العرش ما لكم من دونه من ولي ولا شفيع افلا تتذكرون ۞

يدبر الامر من السماء الى الارض ثم يعرج اليه في يوم كان مقداره الف سنة مما

تعدون ۞ ذلك عالم الغيب والشهادة العزيز الرحيم ۞ الذي احسن كل شيء خلقه

وبدا خلق الانسان من طين

ثم

41

Single-volume Qur'an

Mamluk, probably Cairo, Sha'ban AH 729/June AD 1329

374 folios, 57.5 × 45 cm, with 11 lines to the page
Material A cream paper, laid, with an indeterminate number of lines; rib shadows are visible 7.5 cm apart
Text area 42 × 28.2 cm
Interlinear spacing 3.8 cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in thulth
Patron Probably Amir Sayf al-Din Qusun al-Nasiri
Scribe Muhammad ibn ... ibn Ibrahim ibn 'Abdal-Rahman al-Maydumi
Documentation A colophon and an endowment notice
Binding A modern facsimile
Accession no. QUR317
Published James 1988, cat.no. 13
Comparative items Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MSS 184, 714 and 81; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1476.[1]

This manuscript is related to several contemporary Qur'ans known to have been copied in Cairo in the 1330s. They are associated with a scribe-cum-illuminator called Ahmad al-Mutatabbib and are similar in size, in the large *muḥaqqaq* hand used and in decoration. This art-historical evidence is corroborated by documentary inscriptions within the manuscript itself. On folios 67b and 186b there is a note recording the donation of the Qur'an to the mosque of Qusun 'in the Street' (*bi'l-Shāri'*), a reference to the mosque built by Sayf al-Din Qusun al-Nasiri, an amir of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, in AH729–30/AD1329–30 near Bab al-Zuwaylah in Cairo. Only the gate of the mosque survives today, but, according to al-Maqrizi, Qusun employed an architect from Tabriz who modelled the minarets on those of the mosque of 'Alishah in his native city. As the Qur'an was completed while the mosque was probably under construction, it seems fair to suppose that Qusun commissioned it for use there.[2]

The opening and closing pages are missing, but they would certainly have been illuminated. Unusually for a Mamluk Qur'an, the opening at the beginning of each quarter (*rub'*) of the text is illuminated, although the folios at the beginning of the third quarter have been lost. On the pages that are illuminated, the text is copied over arabesque scrolls, and there are illuminated panels above and below stating the number of the division. These panels are surrounded by gold strapwork borders.

Surah headings are written in gold *thulth* within rectangular borders and are accompanied by a finial medallion. A word count and letter count of each surah is written alongside. In the outer margins there are arabesque hasps. The heading of *Sūrat al-ḥajj* (XXII) on folio 193a and that of *Sūrat al-shu'arā'* (XXVI) on folio 215b are written without borders and include a note to say that, although the surah was revealed largely in Mecca, some of the verses were revealed in Medina. The names of the people who witnessed the revelation are given in each case.

The standard divisions of *juz'*, *ḥizb* etc are written in the margins of the pages wherever they commence. Verses are marked by gold rosettes. A relatively rare feature for a Mamluk Qur'an is the inclusion of a verse, letter and diacritical count, remains of which appear on the penultimate folio, 373a. The colophon is written in a rectangular box on folio 374b.

1. James 1988, cat.nos 15–18.
2. According to al-Maqrizi, IV, pp. 102–3, Qusun commenced building in AH730/AD1329–30, and the manuscript must have been finished by that date, even assuming that illumination continued after copying was completed in Sha'ban AH729/AD June 1329. But the date of the Qur'an and that of the building of the mosque are so close that that Maqrizi may have been mistaken, and the date he gave may have been that of the completion of the building work.

وقف

أول الربع الثاني وأول

فلنسألن الذين أرسل إليهم ولنسألن
المرسلين ۞ فلنقصن عليهم بعلم وما كنا
غائبين ۞ والوزن يومئذ الحق فمن ثقلت
موازينه فأولئك هم المفلحون ۞ ومن خفت
موازينه فأولئك الذين خسروا أنفسهم بما
كانوا بآياتنا يظلمون ۞ ولقد مكنكم

الثمن الثالث وثلاثة أرباع

وقف

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

41 folio 84b

وقف

وأول الثمن السادس

ألا إنهم من إفكهم ليقولون ولد
الله وإنهم لكذبون أصطفى
البنت على البنين ما لكم كيف
تحكمون أفلا تذكرون أم
لكم سلطن مبين فأتوا بكتبكم
إن كنتم صدقين وجعلوا بينه

وهو الجزء الخامس والعشرون

وقف

41 folios 270b–271a

وقف

الجزء الرابع عشر

فَنَبَذْنَٰهُ بِٱلْعَرَآءِ وَهُوَ سَقِيمٌ ۝ وَأَنۢبَتْنَا
عَلَيْهِ شَجَرَةً مِّن يَقْطِينٍ ۝ وَأَرْسَلْنَٰهُ
إِلَىٰ مِاْئَةِ أَلْفٍ أَوْ يَزِيدُونَ ۝ فَـَٔامَنُوا۟
فَمَتَّعْنَٰهُمْ إِلَىٰ حِينٍ ۝ فَٱسْتَفْتِهِمْ
أَلِرَبِّكَ ٱلْبَنَٰتُ وَلَهُمُ ٱلْبَنُونَ ۝ أَمْ
خَلَقْنَا ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةَ إِنَٰثًا وَهُمْ شَٰهِدُونَ ۝

الجزء الخامس عشر

وقف

كانوا مسلمين ۝ ذرهم يأكلوا ويتمتعوا ويلههم
الأمل فسوف يعلمون ۝ وما أهلكنا من قرية إلا ولها
كتاب معلوم ۝ ما تسبق من أمة أجلها وما يستأخرون
وقالوا يا أيها الذي نزل عليه الذكر إنك لمجنون ۝ لو ما
تأتينا بالملئكة إن كنت من الصدقين ۝ ما ننزل
الملئكة إلا بالحق وما كانوا إذا منظرين ۝ إنا نحن نزلنا
الذكر وإنا له لحفظون ۝ ولقد أرسلنا من قبلك في
شيع الأولين ۝ وما يأتيهم من رسول إلا كانوا
به يستهزءون ۝ كذلك نسلكه في قلوب المجرمين ۝
لا يؤمنون به وقد خلت سنة الأولين ۝ ولو فتحنا عليهم
بابا من السماء فظلوا فيه يعرجون ۝ لقالوا إنما سكرت

ن

وقف

مَكْرَهُمْ وَعِندَ اللَّهِ مَكْرُهُمْ وَإِن كَانَ مَكْرُهُمْ لِتَزُولَ مِنْهُ
الْجِبَالُ ۝ فَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ اللَّهَ مُخْلِفَ وَعْدِهِ رُسُلَهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ
ذُو انتِقَامٍ ۝ يَوْمَ تُبَدَّلُ الْأَرْضُ غَيْرَ الْأَرْضِ وَالسَّمَاوَاتُ وَبَرَزُوا
لِلَّهِ الْوَاحِدِ الْقَهَّارِ ۝ وَتَرَى الْمُجْرِمِينَ يَوْمَئِذٍ مُّقَرَّنِينَ فِي الْأَصْفَادِ ۝
سَرَابِيلُهُم مِّن قَطِرَانٍ وَتَغْشَى وُجُوهَهُمُ النَّارُ ۝ لِيَجْزِيَ اللَّهُ كُلَّ
نَفْسٍ مَّا كَسَبَتْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ سَرِيعُ الْحِسَابِ ۝ هَٰذَا بَلَاغٌ لِّلنَّاسِ
وَلِيُنذَرُوا بِهِ وَلِيَعْلَمُوا أَنَّمَا هُوَ إِلَٰهٌ وَاحِدٌ وَلِيَذَّكَّرَ أُولُوا الْأَلْبَابِ ۝

سُورَةُ الْحِجْرِ مَكِّيَّةٌ وَآيُهَا تِسْعُونَ وَتِسْعُ آيَاتٍ ۝

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ ۝

الٓرٰ تِلْكَ آيَاتُ الْكِتَابِ وَقُرْآنٍ مُّبِينٍ ۝ رُّبَمَا يَوَدُّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لَوْ

وَكَلِمُهَا
ستمئة واربع وخمسون كلمة
وَحُرُوفُهَا
ثمان وسبعمائة واحد وتسعون حرفا

42

Three folios

Mamluk, probably Cairo, *circa* AD 1330–1350

Each folio 37.5 × 26.1 cm, with 14 lines to the page
Material A deep cream, polished paper, probably laid, but with no visible details
Text area 30.5 × 19.5 cm
Interlinear spacing 2.1 cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq and thulth, incidentals in thulth
Accession no. QUR580
Comparative items Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MSS 184, 714 and 81;[1] Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1476;[2] and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. 334.[3]

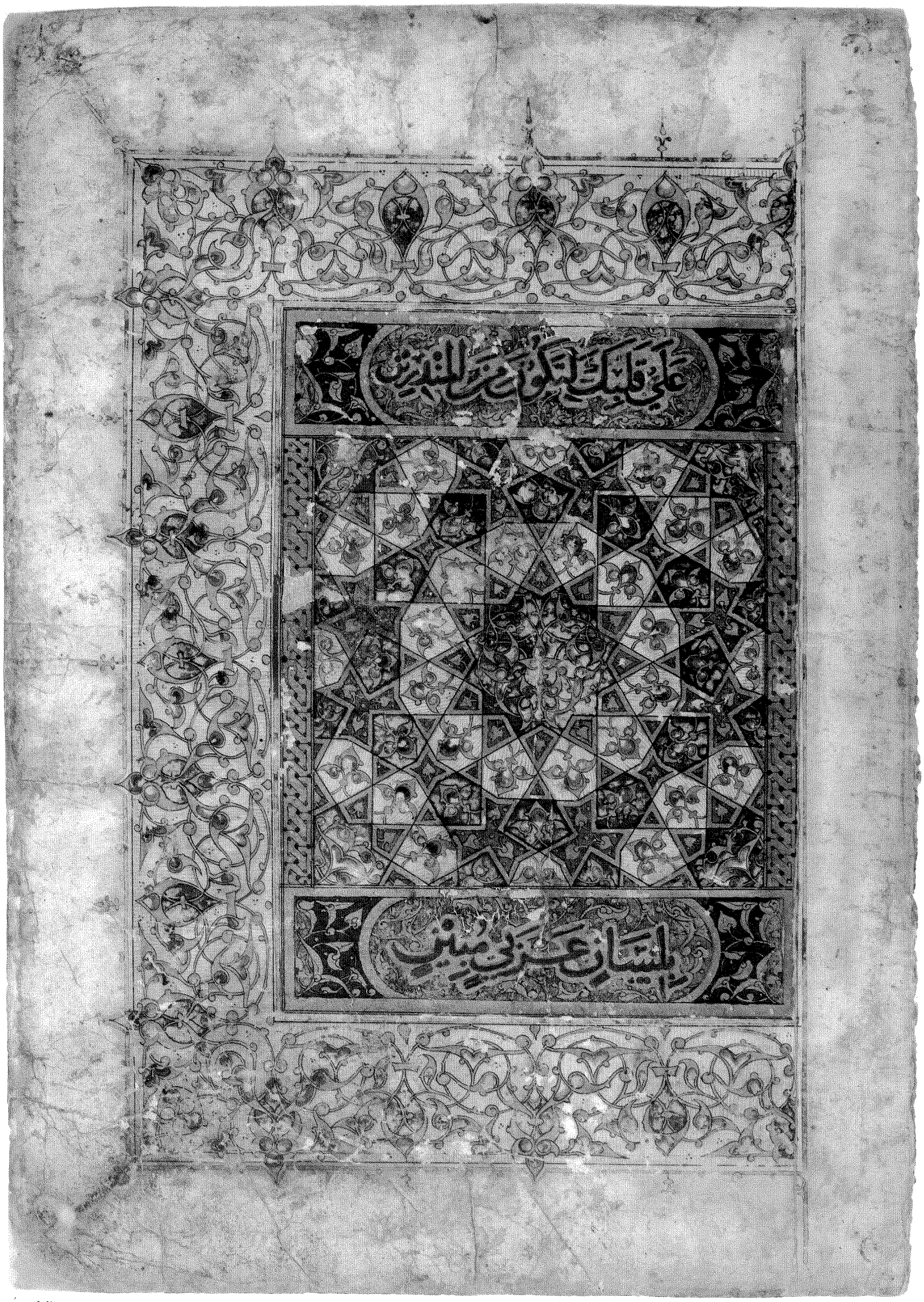
1. James 1988, cat.nos 15–17.
2. Arberry 1967, cat.no. 78; James 1980, cat.no. 37; and James 1988, cat.no. 18.
3. Löfgren 1965, p. 129.
4. James 1988, pp. 132–8.
5. James 1988, fig. 89.
6. The master illuminator Sandal, for example, used the same design for the final volume of the seven-part Qur'an of Baybars al-Jashnikir (London, British Library, ADD.MS. 22413) and for the undated Qur'an signed by him and now in the Chester Beatty Library (MS. 1479). See James 1988, fig. 25; and Arberry 1967, pl. 3.

These folios, which contain *Sūrat al-fātiḥah* (I), verses 1–19 of *Sūrat al-baqarah* (II), *Sūrat al-kawthar* (CVIII) and *Sūrat al-falaq* (CXIII), come from a Mamluk manuscript of the highest quality and are probably the work of Ahmad al-Mutatabbib, a well-known Cairene scribe-cum-illuminator of the 1330s.[4] There are more Qur'ans associated with Ahmad al-Mutatabbib's name than with that of any other 14th-century Mamluk scribe, and he was one of the few Qur'an copyists to state in his colophons where he worked. The other manuscripts known to be by him are three Qur'ans in the National Library in Cairo, a Qur'an in the Chester Beatty Library and part of a copy of the *Qānūn fī'l-ṭibb* of Ibn Sina in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan. The three Cairo Qur'ans are signed and dated AH731/AD1331, AH732/AD1332 and AH734/AD1334, the Dublin Qur'an is unsigned and undated, and the Milan manuscript is signed but not dated. All were illuminated by the same artist, and, although Ahmad al-Mutatabbib did not explicitly state that he was the illuminator, it is probable that he was.

His best known work is the Cairo Qur'an of 1334 (MS. 81), which has an elaborate notation for use in recitation and a long explanatory appendix. The system used in cat. 42 is equally elaborate and appears to be a development of that used in the Cairo copy. One feature which is common to both but is not found in other Mamluk Qur'ans of the same period is the use of a supralinear and sublinear green dot to indicate *hamzat al-waṣl*.

Folio 1a of cat. 42 bears the left-hand half of a double frontispiece. The same trellis design is employed in this as in the frontispiece of the Cairo Qur'an of 1334.[5] This is not in itself conclusive proof that it is the work of Ahmad al-Mutatabbib, but there are no other known examples of the use of this design, while several examples of other contemporary frontispiece designs exist. Furthermore, those few artists whose work can be identified in more than one manuscript are known to have used the same designs several times.[6]

The opening folios are in gold *thulth*. Surah headings are in gold *thulth* and often mention the authorities for the number of verses given. The main body of the text is in a good *muḥaqqaq*, with the reading notations in several colours. The manuscript is unusual for having coloured rules around the text and an even number of lines to the page. The verses are punctuated by gold rosettes. Verses, which are counted or not counted according to the different Meccan, Madinan, Basran and other systems, are marked with a knot and a note in red in the margin.



42 folio 1a

سورة البقرة مدنية عدد آياتها مائتان وثلاث وثمانون آية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الم ذلك الكتاب لا ريب فيه هدى للمتقين
الذين يؤمنون بالغيب ويقيمون الصلوة ومما
رزقناهم ينفقون والذين يؤمنون بما أنزل
إليك وما أنزل من قبلك وبالآخرة هم يوقنون

وسبع بقرة وستون مدنية وسائرها مختلف فيها وهي عشرة آلاف

سورة فاتحة الكتاب العزيز مكية ويقال مدنية وعدد آيها

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم ملك
يوم الدين إياك نعبد وإياك نستعين
اهدنا الصراط المستقيم صراط الذين أنعمت
عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

سبع آيات في جميع العدد اختلافها آيتان

Damascus and the Mamluk Style

The finest Qur'ans of the Mamluk period, and, one is tempted to say, of all time, are the magnificent volumes produced under Sultan Sha'ban, who ruled from 1363 to 1376. These manuscripts were made for the sultan, for his mother, Khwand Barakah, and for a number of powerful amirs. Some were donated to the combined mosque and madrasah that Sha'ban built near the Citadel in Cairo; others bear endowment notices that do not name the institution to which they were presented; but the majority were made for the madrasah of Khwand Barakah in the Khatt al-Tabbanah in Cairo.[1] Taken together, these manuscripts constitute the largest group of Qur'ans from the Mamluk period that can be associated with any institution or individual. In terms of the style of their decoration, however, they fall into two unrelated groups which overlap chronologically.

The first is made up of three manuscripts notable for their large formats and for the quality of their decoration. All three measure more than 70×50 cm, and all three have frontispieces in the form of star-polygons, designs that can be considered the apogee of Mamluk manuscript illumination. Although none of the manuscripts is signed or dated, they are clearly the product of the same workshop or group of artisans. They were almost certainly produced between the mid-1360s and the early 1370s, for two were presented to Khwand Barakah's madrasah, one in June 1368, and the other in March 1369. The endowment notice on the third was drawn up in the name of one of the sultan's amirs, Arghunshah al-Ashrafi, but neither the date of the act of endowment nor the identity of the institution to which the Qur'an was donated is given in the surviving text. The Qur'an itself must be later than the other two on stylistic grounds, however.[2]

A fourth Qur'an can be associated with this group. It is dated 1356 and thus predates the reign of Sultan Sha'ban, but it was probably inherited by him upon his accession and was endowed to his mother's madrasah in June 1368. It has most of the stylistic characteristics of the three manuscripts mentioned above but differs in being signed and dated; it may have been made for Sha'ban's father, Sultan Hasan.[3]

The second group consists of four manuscripts which are all well documented. They were all illuminated by a painter of exceptional talent, Ibrahim al-Amidi, whose *nisbah* suggests that he came from the city of Amid, now Diyarbakır in south-east Turkey. The earliest was dedicated to the madrasah of Khwand Barakah in March 1369 and the latest, a 30-volume Qur'an, was probably donated to the sultan's own mosque-madrasah in the early 1370s. One of the manuscripts is signed by Ibrahim, while the others bear the signatures of the scribes 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Muktib al-Ashrafi and Muhammad al-Muktib al-Shihabi. Like the first group, all of these Qur'ans were made for the sultan, his mother or high-ranking amirs and were donated to institutions in Cairo, but none of the manuscripts in either group contains any record of where it was made.[4]

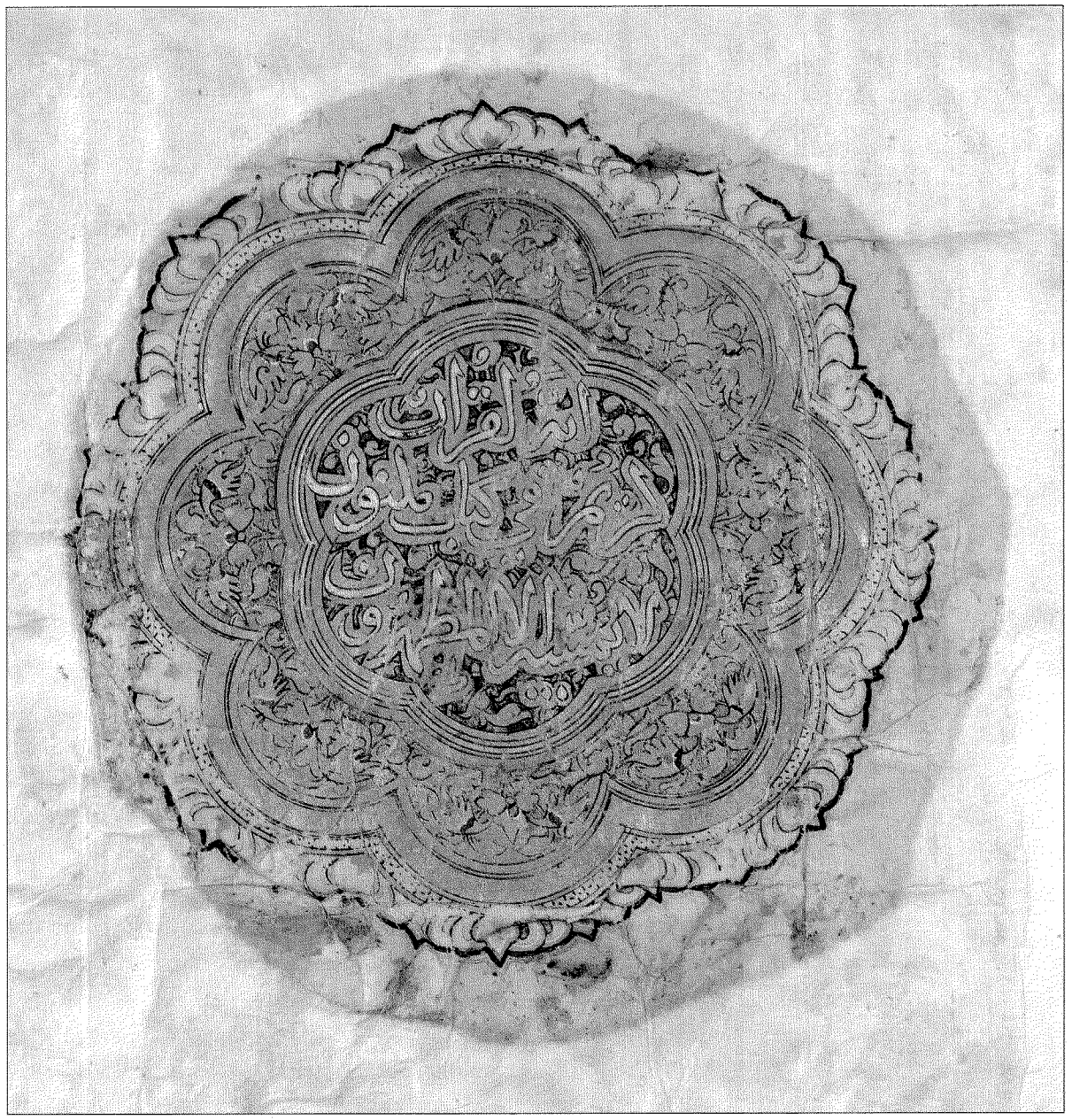
Qur'an illumination in Mamluk Cairo is first known to us through the seven-part Qur'an of Baybars al-Jashnikir, copied and illuminated between 1304 and *circa* 1307. The decoration of the manuscripts was the work of the master illuminator Sandal, his pupil Aydughdi and a collaborator, Muhammad ibn Mubadir.[5] Evidence of the work of the first two artists can be seen in Mamluk manuscripts up to the 1330s, after which it disappears. From the 1330s onwards the quality of illumination in Cairo manuscripts deteriorated until the years following the accession of Sultan Sha'ban in 1363, when the spectacular star-polygon style appeared. No Qur'ans illuminated in this manner are dated later than 1372, when the style disappeared without trace. By contrast, the style associated with Ibrahim al-Amidi endured until the first quarter of the 15th century, after which it faded away as the general decline in Mamluk manuscript production set in.

The star-polygon group is unrelated to any Qur'ans produced in Cairo in the preceding half-century, but it has a very obvious precursor in the form of a Qur'an copied in 1338–9 and now in the Museum of Ancient Iran in Tehran.[6] In the early 16th century one of the last Mamluk rulers sent the manuscript as a gift to the Safavid shah Isma'il I, who reigned between 1501 and 1524, and for most of the time since then the Qur'an has been kept in the shrine of the Safavids' ancestors at Ardabil. It was exhibited and published in the 1930s and 1940s, when it was described as an Iranian manuscript even though it contains the ex-libris of the Mamluk sultan Qayitbay and has pronounced Mamluk features.[7] The manuscript must therefore have been produced somewhere in the Mamluk empire, and, although it contains no clue as to where this was, it is closely related, both in the details of its decoration and the extremely high level of technical competence shown by its illuminator, to a manuscript in the Coptic Museum in Cairo which was copied in Damascus in 1340.[8]

The Cairo manuscript is not a copy of the Qur'an but of the Four Gospels and was made for a Damascene cleric during the time of Anba Butrus, metropolitan of Jerusalem and Syria. Like several other Christian manuscripts of the period, it was illuminated in the manner of contemporary Islamic manuscripts.[9] It has never been published in full, and for years it was trapped in a case in the Coptic Museum which could not be opened. Recently, however, it has been possible to examine the manuscript in detail.[10] Quite a number of the decorative features that occur in it also occur in Qur'ans of otherwise unknown provenance, which enables us to attribute the Qur'ans to Damascus with some degree of certainty. Furthermore, some of the features found in the Four Gospels are next found in the star-polygon group of Qur'ans. For example, surah titles in the manuscripts made for Sultan Sha'ban are often written within cartouches of extremely irregular shape. They are made by drawing a series of interlocking circles and ovals and then using the irregular outline as the cartouche border. Exactly the same technique was used in the Damascus gospels for the title of the index to the gospel of St Matthew. Other parallels are noted elsewhere.[11]

We have previously suggested that Damascus was the source of the star-polygon style, but, because there were no known examples of a Qur'an made in Damascus that contained even embryonic features of the manuscripts associated with Sultan Sha'ban, this hypothesis was based on circumstantial evidence and a comparison between the manuscripts decorated in this style and the Four Gospels in the Coptic Museum. One of the manuscripts catalogued below, cat.43, is therefore of considerable importance, for its colophon clearly states that it was copied in Damascus. Details of its illumination recur in both the Damascus gospels and the Cairo manuscripts of the 1350s and 1360s. One example is the 'whirling' *shamsah*, a rosette made up of tendril tips radiating from a nucleus but bent clockwise to create a whirling motion. It is a curious motif found both in cat.43 and in some of the manuscripts associated with Sultan Sha'ban. Four occur on the two opening pages of text in cat.43, at the ends of the rectangular panels framing the main text. Exactly the same form of *shamsah* occurs in the Qur'an of 1356, the earliest example of the star-polygon style in Cairo. It next occurs in the Qur'an of Arghunshah al-Ashrafi, probably the best known manuscript of the star-polygon group.[12]

Another element employed in the decoration of cat.43, the Qur'an in the Museum of Ancient Iran dated 1338–9 and the Cairo Qur'an dated 1356 is gold vegetal ornament against a gold ground, although the chinoiserie elements found in the others do not occur in cat.43. The inscription panels on the opening pages of text in cat.43 are made up of a circle with adjacent ovoids (*vesicae piscis*). Similar combinations occur in the Qur'an donated to the madrasah of Khwand Barakah in March 1369.[13] This seems to be the initial stage of the irregular surah



43 folio 1a (detail)

cartouche, suggesting, like the absence of chinoiserie, that cat.43 dates from the 1330s.

Stylistic evidence of this type has to be exploited for the dating of cat.43 because its colophon is incomplete; it was written on two successive folios, the second of which has been lost.[14] While the date can be presumed to have been on the lost folio, the record of the place of copying – the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus – has survived. The manuscript was completed there during the month of Ramadan by someone who was a fair, although by no means an outstanding, scribe. The illumination is of a high quality and must have been executed by a professional artist. We do not know whether this was the same person as the scribe, since, as is so often the case, the scribe states only that he wrote the text. The scribe's full name was Yahya ibn 'Umar ibn 'Ali al-Khabushani al-Khurasani. His *nisbah* tells us precisely where he came from: Khabushan in the province of Khurasan. Khabushan was the medieval name for the town in eastern Iran now called Quchan, which lies just north of the river Atrak above Mashhad.[15] It was an important station on the road to central Khurasan and is mentioned by numerous Muslim geographers. In Mongol times it was completely rebuilt and enlarged.[16] At some stage Yahya ibn 'Umar travelled westwards, perhaps to make the *Ḥajj*, and he ultimately reached Damascus. The Qur'an was almost certainly illuminated by a Damascus artist in his workshop. However, if Yahya ibn 'Ali illuminated the manuscript himself, he followed the local style, for none of the decorative features we have detailed above occur in Iranian illumination of the 1330s and 1340s.

Little has been written on Damascus manuscript illumination in this period, but some research has been undertaken into painting. As a result, the two most expertly painted of all Mamluk illustrated works, the *Sulwān al-muṭā' fī 'udwān al-ittibā'* of Ibn Zafar and a copy of the *Manāfi' al-ḥayawān* now in the Escorial, together with two copies of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hariri which are almost as fine, are now attributed to Damascus and were produced

between *circa* 1325 and 1354.[17] This is precisely the period when the Damascus gospels and the Qur'an in the Museum of Ancient Iran were produced, and it was probably at this time that cat. 43 was made there. Thus, although manuscript painting and illumination in Cairo seems to have declined or, at least, stagnated during this period, no such deterioration occurred in Damascus.

When Sultan Sha'ban and Khwand Barakah wanted outstanding manuscripts for their newly established foundations, they, or the officials to whom they entrusted the task, commissioned the finest artists of the time to illuminate them. These artists were not Egyptians; one came from Damascus, while the other, Ibrahim al-Amidi, came from Diyarbakır. Ibrahim al-Amidi must have come to Cairo after work had begun on the project. Perhaps he was summoned specifically for this task, or he may have come on his own initiative when he heard of the project. It cannot be determined whether the Qur'ans illuminated in the star-polygon style were made in Cairo by artists from Damascus or whether they were produced in Damascus itself. If they were produced in Damascus and then sent to Cairo, this would explain why there are only three in the star-polygon style while several more were commissioned from other artists. The arrival of Ibrahim al-Amidi in the late 1360s meant that it was no longer necessary to commission manuscripts from Damascus. It was easier, and probably cheaper, to employ Ibrahim as the illuminator of the remaining manuscripts.

1. James 1988, chapter 8.
2. Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MSS 6, 7 and 54; see James 1988, cat.nos 28–30.
3. Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MS. 8; see James 1988, cat.no. 24.
4. The three single-volume Qur'ans in this group are Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MSS 9, 10 and 15; see James 1988, cat.nos 31, 32 and 34. The 30-part Qur'an has been dispersed, and only five sections are known; see James 1988, cat.no. 35. Another Qur'an most probably by Ibrahim al-Amidi has lost its final page, but the calligrapher was undoubtebly 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Muktib; see Sotheby's 1983, lot no. 9.
5. James 1988, chapter 3.
6. James 1988, cat.no. 20.
7. James 1988, pp. 138–49.
8. MS. 90; see Simaika Pasha 1939, pls XVIII–XX.
9. Leroy 1967.
10. My thanks go to the Director of the Coptic Museum, Dr Gawdat Gabra, for facilitating my examination of this manuscript in March 1989.
11. James 1988, p. 149.
12. Lings 1976, pls 73 and 78.
13. Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MS. 7.
14. The colophon breaks off in mid-sentence: *ghafara'llāh (lahu . . .)*.
15. Le Strange 1905, map VIII.
16. Le Strange 1905, p. 393.
17. One of the copies of the *Maqāmāt* is dated 1334 and is Vienna, Österreichische Staatsbibliothek, MS. A.F. 9; the other, dated 1337, is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Marsh 458. The copy of the *Manāfi' al-ḥayawān* (Escorial Library, MS. ar. 898) is dated 1354. The *Sulwān al-muṭā'*, which is undated but can be ascribed to the second quarter of the 14th century, is dispersed among several collect-ions, with the bulk in the Homayzi Collection (MS. I/147), currently in Denmark. See Melikian-Chirvani 1985; and Contadini 1989.

43
Single-volume Qur'an

The Umayyad Mosque, Damascus, *circa* AD 1330–1340

296 folios, 32.5 × 22.5 cm,
with 15 lines to the page
Material A buff paper, laid,
with 6–7 lines to the centimetre;
chain lines are visible
Text area 26 × 16 cm
Interlinear spacing 1.5–1.9 cm
Script The opening pages in naskh,
the main text in muḥaqqaq and
incidentals in thulth
Scribe Yahya ibn 'Umar ibn 'Ali al-
Khabushani al-Khurasani
Documentation A colophon
Accession no. QUR807
Comparative items Cairo, Coptic
Museum, MS.99;[1] Cairo, National
Library, Qur'an MS.8;[2] and
Istanbul, Museum of Turkish &
Islamic Arts, MS.450.[3]

1. Simaika Pasha 1939, pls XVIII–XX.
2. Lings 1976, pls 73–4.
3. James 1988, cat.no. 6 and fig. 35,
with details of dispersed folios.
4. Museum of Turkish & Islamic
Arts, MS. 450.
5. There is a Qur'an in the National
Library in Cairo that was copied in
the 1360s by Muhammad ibn
Hasan ibn 'Ali of Nakhichevan
in Azerbaijan; see James 1988,
cat.no. 25.
6. James 1988, pp. 150–53.
7. James 1988, fig. 123b.

This manuscript is the only Qur'an from the middle of the 14th century to contain a colophon specifying Damascus as its place of origin. It has decorative details in common with several Qur'ans made for the Mamluk ruler Sultan Sha'ban (*reg* 1363–76), which can therefore also be associated with Damascus. The wording of the colophon is precise, giving the day, month and place of copying and the full name of the copyist. It is written on the final folio in the form of a circle with framing panels inscribed with *Sūrat al-an'ām* (VI), verse 115. It is incomplete and would have extended on to the following page, which is now missing. The format of this colophon has an exact parallel in the colophon of a Qur'an that was written for the Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in AH 713/AD 1313.[4]

Although the style of the illumination is also predominantly Mamluk, the scribe seems to have been of Iranian origin, a native of Khabushan (now Quchan) in Khurasan. He is not by any means the only Iranian scribe known to have copied Qur'ans in the Mamluk domains.[5] The most famous is Mubarakshah ibn Ahmad al-Suyufi, who is sometimes described as one of the pupils of Yaqut. He is said to have come from Nishapur, but in one Qur'an he gave his *nisbah* as al-Dimashqi, and another manuscript by him is dated Cairo, AH 744/AD 1345.[6]

The connection between Damascus and Iran is borne out by one feature of the decoration: although the style of the Qur'an is generally Mamluk, the single medallion on folio 1a rarely if ever occurs in 14th-century Mamluk work and is first found in a Qur'an from Maraghah dated AH 738–9/AD 1338–9.[7]

The manuscript commences with a lobed medallion inscribed with *Sūrat al-wāqi'ah* (LVI), verses 77–80, and framed by a petalled border. The opening pages of text have framing panels bearing the surah titles and verse count, which are written in adjoining circles and ovoids containing arabesque scrolls. The panels are decorated with gold floral sprays enlivened with green on a gold ground and with a 'whirling' *shamsah* in a circle at either end. They are framed by a wide gold band and a tooth-and-dash border. Both pages have a narrow outer border of tightly painted alternating palmettes. The text on these pages is in a large gold *naskh* outlined in black and with the loops of the letters painted in black. It is written over a cross-hatched border with a black treble-dot motif.

The main body of the text was copied in a fair *muḥaqqaq* hand. Verses are punctuated by gold rosettes, and surah titles are written in a sprawling gold *thulth*. The final folios are fully illuminated. The cover is a typical 14th-century binding with a geometric pattern and gold stamps in places. The doublure is modern.

سورة الفلق مكية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

قل أعوذ برب الفلق من شر
ما خلق ومن شر غاسق إذا وقب
ومن شر النفاثات في العقد
ومن شر حاسد إذا حسد

والناس خمس وثلاثون آية

سورة البقرة
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الم ذلك الكتاب لا ريب
فيه هدى للمتقين
الذين يؤمنون بالغيب ويقيمون
الصلوة ومما رزقناهم ينفقون

43 folio 2a

وتمت كلمات

وافق الفراغ من
تحرير هذه الختمة الشريفة
في شهر رمضان يوم الجمعة
في الجامع الاموي بدمشق المحروسة
على يد العبد الفقير الى الله الغني
يحيى بن عمر بن علي الخبوشاني
الخراساني غفر الله

بالصدق وعدلا

43 folio 296b

44
Single-volume Qur'an

Mamluk, probably Damascus, *circa* AD 1340–1350

356 folios 38.4×25.7cm, with 11 lines to the page
Material A white paper, laid, with 10 lines to the centimetre and triple chain lines 2.7cm apart
Text area 24×17cm
Interlinear spacing 2.1cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in muḥaqqaq and Kufic
Documentation Notices of endowment
Binding Contemporary
Accession no. QUR187
Comparative items Cat. 43; and Cairo, Coptic Museum, MS. 90.[1]

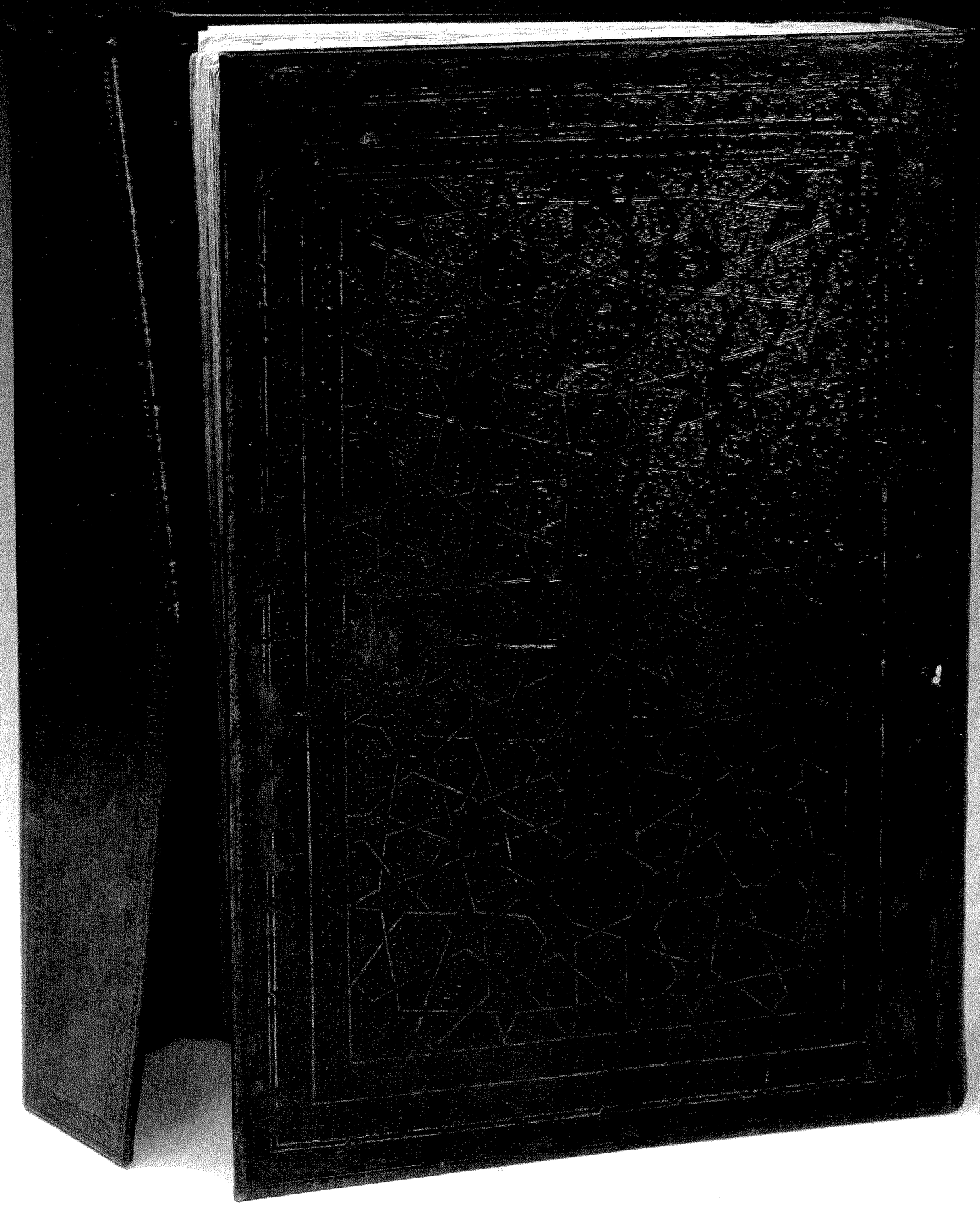
1. Simaika Pasha 1939, pls XVIII–XX.
2. James 1988, pp. 138–49.
3. Cat. 43; and Coptic Museum, MS. 90.

Although large numbers of Mamluk Qur'ans have survived, it is not always easy to determine where they were made unless they contain the names of the patrons who commissioned them or donated them to religious institutions. However, it is sometimes possible to propose a provenance for a manuscript on the basis of stylistic similarities with better-documented examples. We have suggested that certain features seen in the decoration of this manuscript, such as the strapwork with coloured squares and a very idiosyncratic form of Kufic, should be associated with manuscripts produced in Damascus *circa* 1340–60,[2] for they occur, along with other distinctive features, in two of the few manuscripts from this period to name Damascus as their place of origin.[3]

The opening folios and the surah headings were written in gold *muḥaqqaq*, but with the vertical shafts of the letters swelling out towards the top in the manner of *thulth*. There are no decorative marginalia. The text, which is punctuated by rosettes marking the verses and framed with gold rules, has an interesting system of reading notation, although there is no explanatory appendix. The final folios are illuminated entirely in gold with blue backgrounds to the inscription panels.

There are two documentary inscriptions on the opening page, but they have been covered up in the course of restoration. One recorded the donation of the manuscript to an institution in memory of Sulayman ibn Sayyid Ghazi. The other is mostly indecipherable but was also an endowment notice, the donor in this case being a high Mamluk official with the post of *dawadār*.

The manuscript is bound in much-restored but still fine covers of *circa* 1350. They are in brown morocco with geometric designs in gold and blind tooling.



سورة البقرة مدنية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الم ذلك الكتاب لا ريب فيه هدى
للمتقين الذين يؤمنون بالغيب ويقيمون
الصلوة ومما رزقناهم ينفقون والذين
يؤمنون بما انزل اليك وما انزل من قبلك

وبالاخرة هم

وقف

سورة الفاتحة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم ملك

يوم الدين إياك نعبد وإياك نستعين

اهدنا الصراط المستقيم صراط الذين أنعمت

عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

سورة البقرة ٢٨٦

سورة البقرة مدنية
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الم ذلك الكتاب لا ريب فيه هدى
للمتقين الذين يؤمنون بالغيب ويقيمون
الصلوة ومما رزقناهم ينفقون والذين
يؤمنون بما انزل اليك وما انزل من قبلك

وقف

سورة الفاتحة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العلمين الرحمن الرحيم ملك
يوم الدين اياك نعبد واياك نستعين
اهدنا الصراط المستقيم صراط الذين انعمت
عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين

سورة البقرة

45
Two folios

Probably Mamluk, *circa* AD 1350–1400

Both folios 36 × 23.5 cm, with 13 lines to the page
Material A deep cream, highly polished paper, laid, with 8 lines to the centimetre; there are very regular triple chain lines 5 cm apart
Text area 26.5 × 16.5 cm
Interlinear spacing 1.8 cm
Script Muḥaqqaq
Accession no. QUR582
Comparative items Geneva 1988, cat.no. 11 is another page from the same manuscript. Compare also Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MS. 4;[1] Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MS. 8;[2] and a Qur'an divided between Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MSS 1437a–c, 1440;[3] Berlin, Kunstbibliothek der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS. KB 31.559;[4] and Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, MS. 26.11.

1. Cairo 1969, cat.no. 282.
2. James 1988, cat.no. 24
3. Arberry 1967, cat.nos 49–52; James 1980, cat.no. 24; James 1988, p. 39.
4. Schimmel 1970, pl. XXIII.
5. An example is Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MS. 8, which is dated AH 757/AD 1356; see James 1988, cat.no. 24.
6. Besides Geneva 1988, cat.no. 11, an unknown number are in a private collection in London.

Although scribes and artists working for Mamluk sultans, amirs and officials during the 14th century AD created some of the most lavishly illuminated copies of the Holy Qur'an ever produced, there was a parallel tradition of producing Qur'ans with almost no decoration. There are several examples that convey the impression of majestic simplicity. In these manuscripts the message of the text relies entirely on the boldness of the script. One of the best examples is a copy of the Qur'an now divided between the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin and several other collections and written in black in a three-line format with gold surah headings. Another is Qur'an MS. 4 in the National Library in Cairo, which was written entirely in gold *muḥaqqaq* but has no surah headings, no verse-markers and no marginal medallions indicating fifth and tenth verses.

The two folios that constitute cat. 45 are part of this tradition. They came from what was probably a 14th-century Mamluk manuscript, although an Ottoman provenance cannot be excluded. The first folio contains a text running from *Sūrat 'abasa* (LXXX), verse 6, to *Sūrat al-takwīr* (LXXXI), verse 14, and the text on the second consists of *Sūrat Quraysh* (CVI) and *Sūrat al-kawthar* (CVIII). The script used is a large *muḥaqqaq*. The verses are punctuated by gold discs, a feature perhaps more typical of Ottoman than Mamluk Qur'ans, but the paper, with its triple chain lines, is clearly Mamluk. The surah headings, together with the *basmalah* of each surah, are written in gold, another feature of some Mamluk Qur'ans from the second half of the 14th century.[5]

Several other pages from the same Qur'an are known.[6]

مِّنْهُمْ يَوْمَئِذٍ شَأْنٌ يُغْنِيهِ ۝ وُجُوهٌ يَوْمَئِذٍ مُّسْفِرَةٌ
ضَاحِكَةٌ مُّسْتَبْشِرَةٌ ۝ وَوُجُوهٌ يَوْمَئِذٍ عَلَيْهَا
غَبَرَةٌ تَرْهَقُهَا قَتَرَةٌ أُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْكَفَرَةُ الْفَجَرَةُ

سُورَةُ التَّكْوِيرِ تِسْعٌ وَعِشْرُونَ آيَةً مَكِّيَّةٌ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

إِذَا الشَّمْسُ كُوِّرَتْ ۝ وَإِذَا النُّجُومُ انكَدَرَتْ
وَإِذَا الْجِبَالُ سُيِّرَتْ ۝ وَإِذَا الْعِشَارُ عُطِّلَتْ
وَإِذَا الْوُحُوشُ حُشِرَتْ ۝ وَإِذَا الْبِحَارُ سُجِّرَتْ
وَإِذَا النُّفُوسُ زُوِّجَتْ ۝ وَإِذَا الْمَوْءُودَةُ سُئِلَتْ
بِأَيِّ ذَنبٍ قُتِلَتْ ۝ وَإِذَا الصُّحُفُ نُشِرَتْ
وَإِذَا السَّمَاءُ كُشِطَتْ ۝ وَإِذَا الْجَحِيمُ سُعِّرَتْ
وَإِذَا الْجَنَّةُ أُزْلِفَتْ ۝ عَلِمَتْ نَفْسٌ مَّا أَحْضَرَتْ

46

Fragment of Part 34 of a 60-part Qur'an

Mamluk, *circa* AD1350–1450

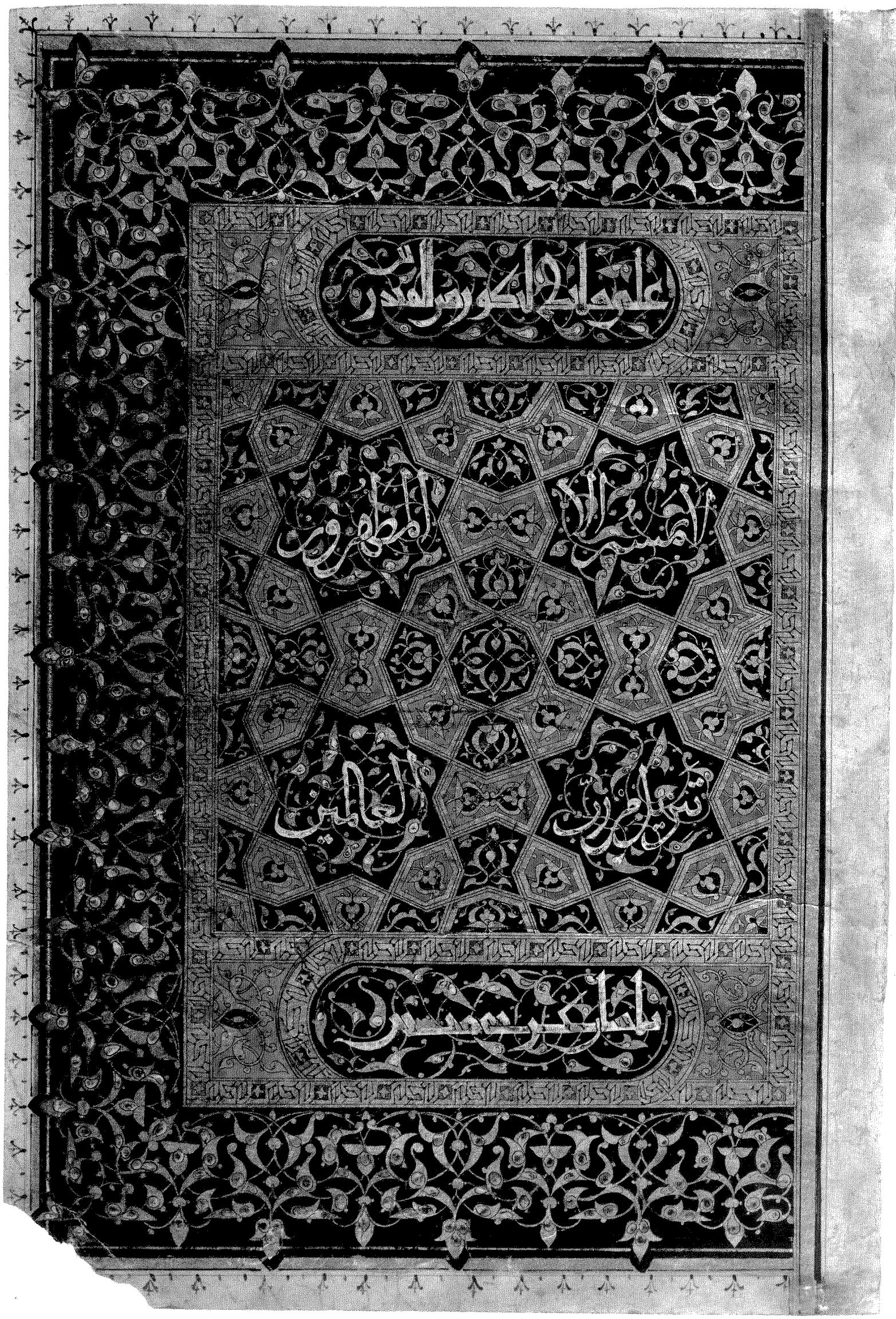
19 folios, 33.4×23.2 cm, with 5 lines to the page
Material A cream, well-polished paper, laid, but the number of lines per centimetre is indeterminate; rib shadows are visible
Text area 22.2×15.5 cm
Interlinear spacing 5 cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in thulth and Kufic
Binding Modern
Accession no. QUR470
Comparative item Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MS.M5.[1]

1. Karatay 1962, cat.no. 138; and James 1988, cat.no. 21.
2. James 1988, fig. 95.

This fragment contains the first folios of a separately bound section of the Qur'an. Such multi-volume copies most frequently contain the text divided into thirtieths (*juz'*, plural *ajzā'*), but as the text of this volume begins at a point half-way through the seventeenth *juz'*, it must come from a Qur'an divided into sixtieths (*ḥizb*, plural *aḥzāb*).

Although only a tiny portion of the original, it has a number of interesting features. On folio 1a there are the remains of a double-page frontispiece. The text begins on folio 1b, which bears the one surah heading, that of *Sūrat al-ḥajj* (XXII), written in gold *thulth*. The rest of the text is also in gold, outlined in black with black diacriticals, which may be oxidized silver. The design of the frontispiece is close to that in a Qur'an of 1341 in the Topkapı Palace Library which was also written in gold *muḥaqqaq*.[2] It is possible that the Istanbul manuscript was examined by the scribe and illuminator or illuminators of cat. 46, who used it as a model.

If this is case, cat. 46 would certainly have been produced after 1341. This dating is confirmed by the devices in the margins that mark groups of five and ten verses, which consist of medallions with radiating hair-strokes, a type that does not appear in Egyptian Mamluk Qur'ans before the second half of the 14th century. This would suggest that the fragment was produced late in the 14th century or perhaps early in the 15th.



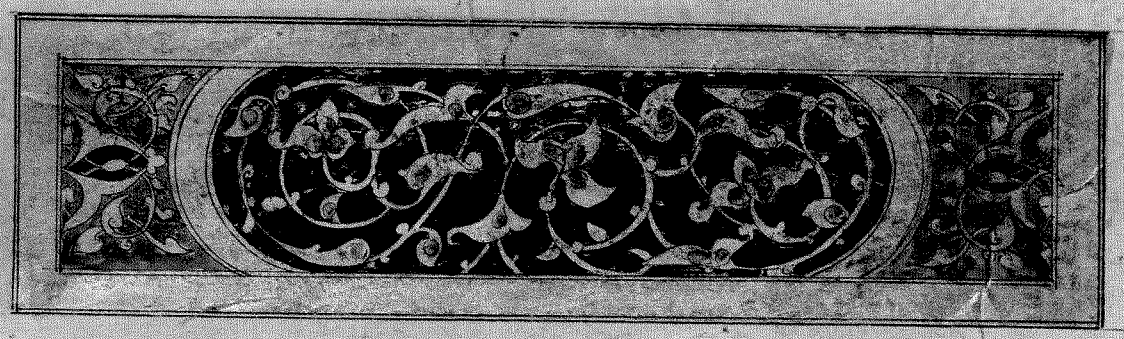
عَمَّآ أَرْضَعَتْ وَتَضَعُ كُلُّ ذَاتِ حَمْلٍ حَمْلَهَا

وَتَرَى ٱلنَّاسَ سُكَٰرَىٰ وَمَا هُم بِسُكَٰرَىٰ وَلَٰكِنَّ

عَذَابَ ٱللَّهِ شَدِيدٌ وَمِنَ ٱلنَّاسِ مَن يُجَٰدِلُ فِي

ٱللَّهِ بِغَيْرِ عِلْمٍ وَيَتَّبِعُ كُلَّ شَيْطَٰنٍ مَّرِيدٍ كُتِبَ

عَلَيْهِ أَنَّهُۥ مَن تَوَلَّاهُ فَأَنَّهُۥ يُضِلُّهُۥ وَيَهْدِيهِ إِلَىٰ عَذَابِ



سُورَةُ الحَجِّ ثَمَانٌ وَسَبْعُونَ آيَةً

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ اتَّقُوا رَبَّكُمْ إِنَّ زَلْزَلَةَ السَّاعَةِ

شَيْءٌ عَظِيمٌ يَوْمَ تَرَوْنَهَا تَذْهَلُ كُلُّ مُرْضِعَةٍ

47
Single-volume Qur'an

Mamluk, probably Cairo, AH 784/AD 1382–3

444 folios, 43.1 × 30.6 cm, with 9 lines to the page
Material A cream, exceptionally smooth, polished paper, laid, with 7 lines to the centimetre; there are double and triple chain lines at intervals of 5.8 cm
Text area 28 × 21.6 cm
Interlinear spacing 3.2 cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in thulth
Scribe Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-'Ajami al-Mudhahhib
Documentation Colophon
Binding Modern, with fragments of the original 14th-century cover glued to it
Accession no. QUR595
Comparative item Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1472.[1]

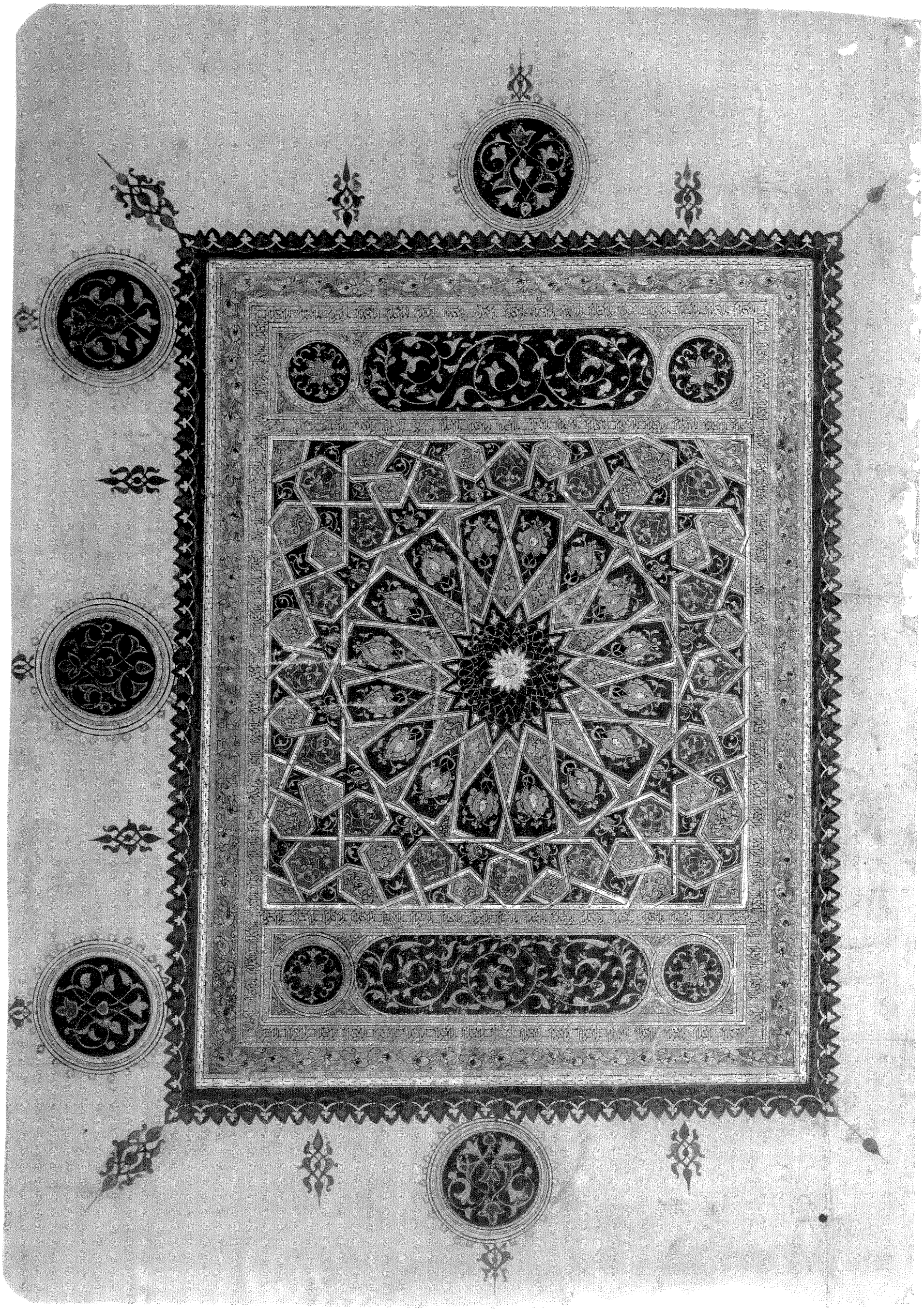
1. Arberry 1967, cat.no. 62.
2. James 1988, chapter 8.
3. Cairo, National Library, Qur'an MS. 54; see James 1988, cat.no. 30 and fig. 136.

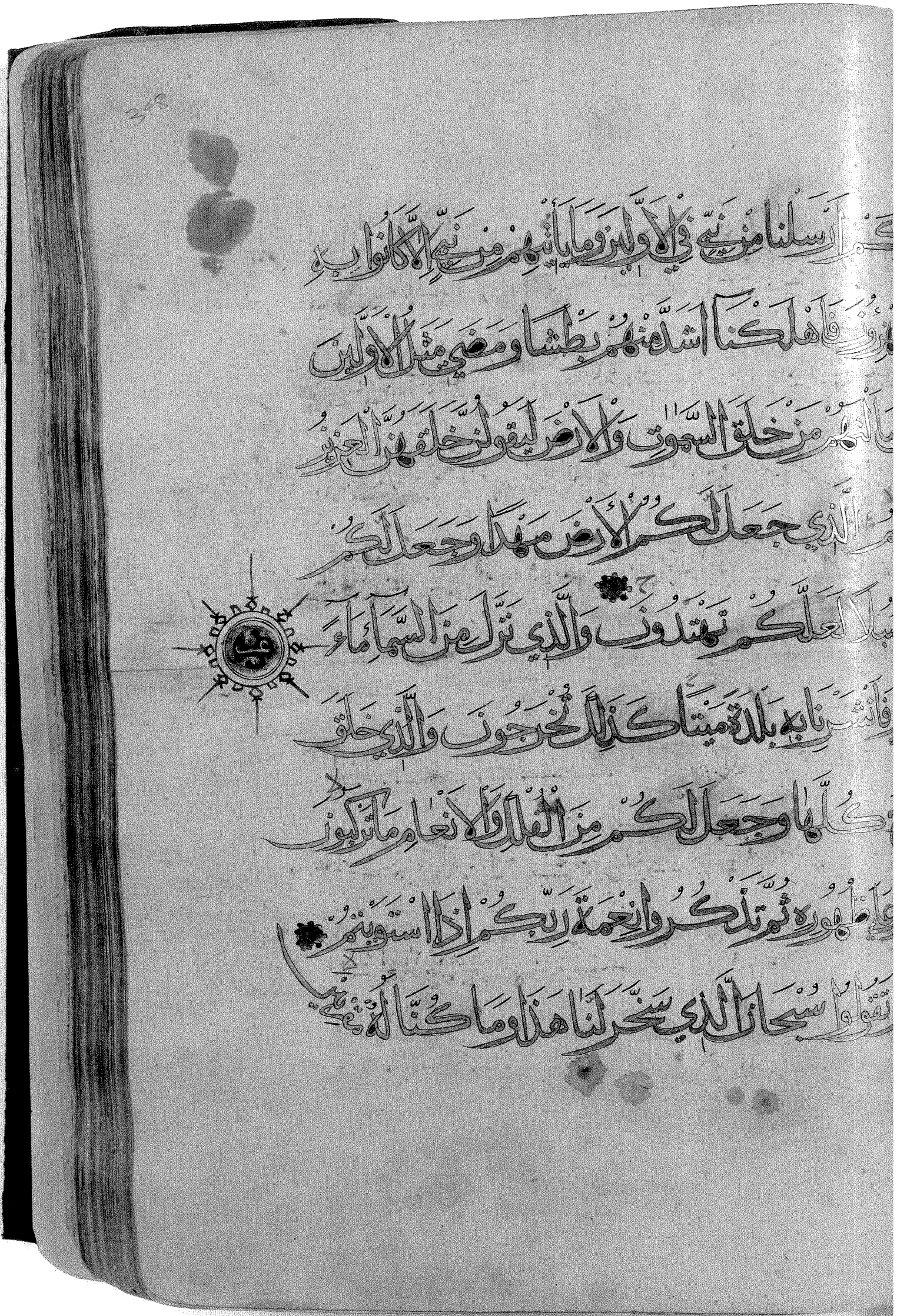
This Qur'an has a very important colophon, in which the scribe gave his name as Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-'Ajami al-Mudhahhib and recorded that he was also the illuminator. The *nisbah* al-'Ajami means 'the foreigner' in the sense of 'the non-Arab'. Although this term is most often used to refer to Persian-speakers, the non-Arabs *par excellence*, there is little in the illumination to suggest an Iranian origin for the artist who produced it. At the same time, there are similarities in the details of the illumination between this Qur'an and another of roughly the same period in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin which is quite probably Anatolian. This would suggest that Ahmad ibn 'Ali was an Anatolian working in Cairo or somewhere in Syria in 1382–3. We have suggested elsewhere that one of the most famous late 14th-century Cairo illuminators, Ibrahim al-Amidi, came, as his *nisbah* indicates, from south-east Anatolia.[2] Cat. 47 shows that there may have been other artists from Anatolia working in Mamluk Egypt and Syria at this time.

The first folio of the manuscript is a replacement. On the *recto* there is a copy of the frontispiece in a celebrated Qur'an produced in Cairo *circa* 1369–72 for the Mamluk amir Arghunshah al-Ashrafi.[3] The *verso* is a facsimile of the facing page, folio 2a, which is original. The outer borders on folio 2a consist of interwoven red and white fleurs-de-lis and are very similar to the border on the Anatolian Qur'an in the Chester Beatty Library. Surah headings are in white *thulth* and are set within cartouches framed by borders with fragmentary floral decoration. Towards the end of the manuscript the titles are painted in gold and the decoration becomes more elaborate. Gold is used only for the wording, and the areas of decoration that were painted in gold in the previous headings are left unpainted.

The text is in a *muḥaqqaq* hand tending towards *naskh*. It was written in gold and outlined in black. The loops in the letters *ṭā'*, *ẓā'*, *ṣād* and *ḍād* are filled with blue paint. Medial and final *'ayn*, *ghayn* and *hā'* are painted orange. The vocalization is in black, and the reading notation is in red. Verses are punctuated by gold rosettes with red and blue dots. Each group of ten verses is marked by a circular medallion with the word *'ashar* ('ten') in gold and blue. On the last 30 folios these colours change to orange and blue, and groups of five verses are also marked.

The binding is in brown morocco. The central field is decorated in blind-tooling with a typical Mamluk pattern of repeating polygons. There is an outer border of interlace. At the centre and corners of the central field, pieces from another binding have been roughly inset. The flap is covered with tooling and bears a multi-pointed star. The printed doublures have repeating palmettes with shield shapes.





47 folios 347b–348a

بِإِذْنِهِ مَا يَشَاءُ إِنَّهُ عَلِيٌّ حَكِيمٌ وَكَذَٰلِكَ أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ رُوحًا

مِنْ أَمْرِنَا مَا كُنْتَ تَدْرِي مَا الْكِتَابُ وَلَا الْإِيمَانُ وَلَٰكِنْ جَعَلْنَاهُ

نُورًا نَهْدِي بِهِ مَنْ نَشَاءُ مِنْ عِبَادِنَا وَإِنَّكَ لَتَهْدِي إِلَىٰ صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ

صِرَاطِ اللَّهِ الَّذِي لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ أَلَا إِلَى اللَّهِ تَصِيرُ الْ

سُورَةُ الزُّخْرُفِ مَكِّيَّةٌ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

حٰمٓ وَالْكِتَابِ الْمُبِينِ إِنَّا جَعَلْنَاهُ قُرْآنًا عَرَبِيًّا لَعَلَّكُمْ

تَعْقِلُونَ وَإِنَّهُ فِي أُمِّ الْكِتَابِ لَدَيْنَا لَعَلِيٌّ حَكِيمٌ

أَفَنَضْرِبُ عَنْكُمُ الذِّكْرَ صَفْحًا أَنْ كُنْتُمْ قَوْمًا مُسْرِفِينَ

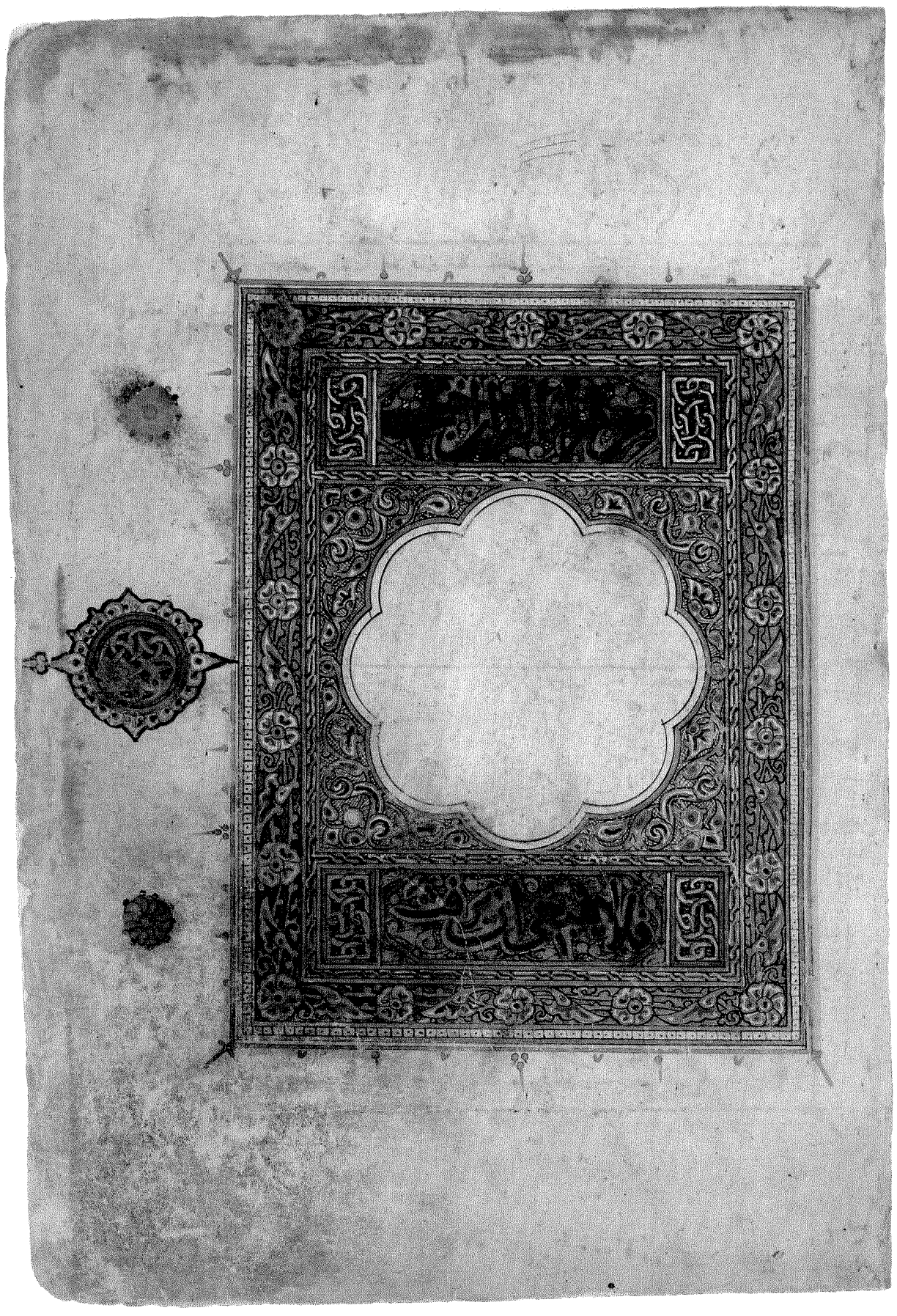
Anatolia before the Ottomans

During the 14th century AD Anatolia was controlled by a number of Turkish groups of tribal origin, who vied with one another to acquire as much as possible of the remains of the Byzantine and Saljuq empires. In north-west Anatolia the most active group were the Ottomans, who also began their conquest of south-east Europe at this time. Central Anatolia was in the hands of the Qaramanids, while eastern Anatolia was eventually taken over by the Qaraqoyunlu and Aqqoyunlu Turkomans.

Only a small number of 14th-century Anatolian Qur'ans are known. Most of these are in the Mevlana Museum in Konya, the city in which they appear to have been produced, but few of them have been published or even examined. The indications are that Konya was a major centre for the production of fine Qur'ans and other manuscripts. This tradition certainly goes back as far as the previous century, as is shown by the earliest surviving copy of the *Masnavī* of Jalal al-Din Rumi, produced in 1268–9. This manuscript is so beautifully decorated that it must rank as one of the finest – if not the finest – illuminated Islamic manuscript of the 13th century.[1] The artist responsible for this work was Mukhlis ibn 'Abdallah al-Hindi, who also illuminated a Qur'an at the madrasah of Sa'd al-Din Köpek in Konya in 1278.[2] Konya was, of course, the centre of the Mevlevi order of dervishes, whose interest in music, calligraphy and painting is well known.

There is an interesting group of Qur'ans characterized by their three-line format, a distinctive *muḥaqqaq* hand and polychrome decoration in which the same geometric forms predominate. We have suggested elsewhere that this group is from 14th-century Anatolia. The attribution is based on the most important manuscript in the group, an extraordinary 30-part Qur'an with a Turkish interlinear translation which is now in the John Rylands University Library in Manchester.[3] A related Qur'an which has a Chaghatay translation and commentary is in the Astan-i Quds Library in Mashhad.[4] Although it does not have the three-line format, it is similar to the other manuscripts in this group in every other respect. It is also the only dated manuscript of the group, having been produced in 1337. It is signed by Muhammad ibn Shaykh al-Abari, known as Sayyid al-Khuttat ('Lord of Scribes').[5] Some loose pages in this group, including cat. 51 and 52, are often ascribed to Sultanate India.[6] Although the attribution of the group to Anatolia is tentative, it does not seem likely that these manuscripts were produced in Sultanate India, but an Iranian or Central Asian provenance cannot be excluded. A number of other manuscripts in the Khalili Collection may be Anatolian. Of these, cat. 48 is notable for its unusual binding, with human and animal heads on the doublure. Its origin is unknown, but it is more likely that it was produced in the Jazirah or Anatolia than in Mamluk Egypt or Syria.

1. It is reproduced at Önder 1977, pp. 212–15, but the illustrations there give no idea of the magnificence of the original, which has more than 20 fully illuminated pages. The date is incorrectly given as 1278. Better reproductions have recently been published in Tanındı 1990.
2. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1466; see Arberry 1967, cat.no. 45; and James 1980, cat.no. 69.
3. James 1988, pp. 173–7.
4. Ma'ani 1347, cat.no. 293.
5. In the Chaghatay translation of the colophon he is called Yigneji-oghlı, 'the son of the needle-seller' or 'needle-maker'; an interesting alternative would be 'someone who worked with a needle'.
6. Falk 1985, cat.no. 116.



*48 folio 1a

48

Parts 2 and 13 of a 30-part Qur'an

Anatolia or the Jazirah, *circa* AD1250–1350

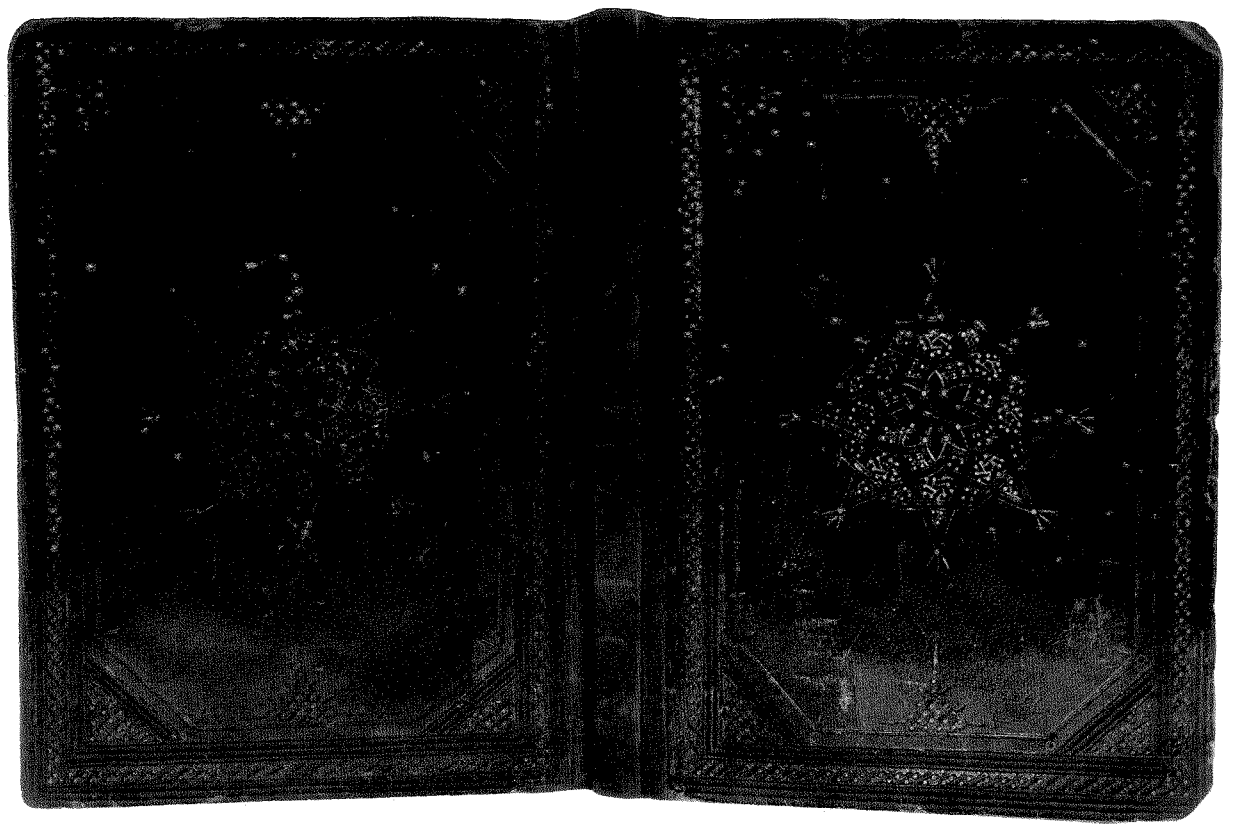
Part 2 has 45 folios, and Part 13 has 49; both sections measure 23.5×17cm and have 5 lines to the page
Material A cream, floccular, well-beaten paper, laid, with an indeterminate number of lines per centimetre
Text area 15×10.1cm
Interlinear spacing 3.3cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in thulth
Binding Contemporary
Accession nos QUR433 and QUR132

1. This doublure will be reproduced and discussed in greater detail in volume VII of this catalogue.

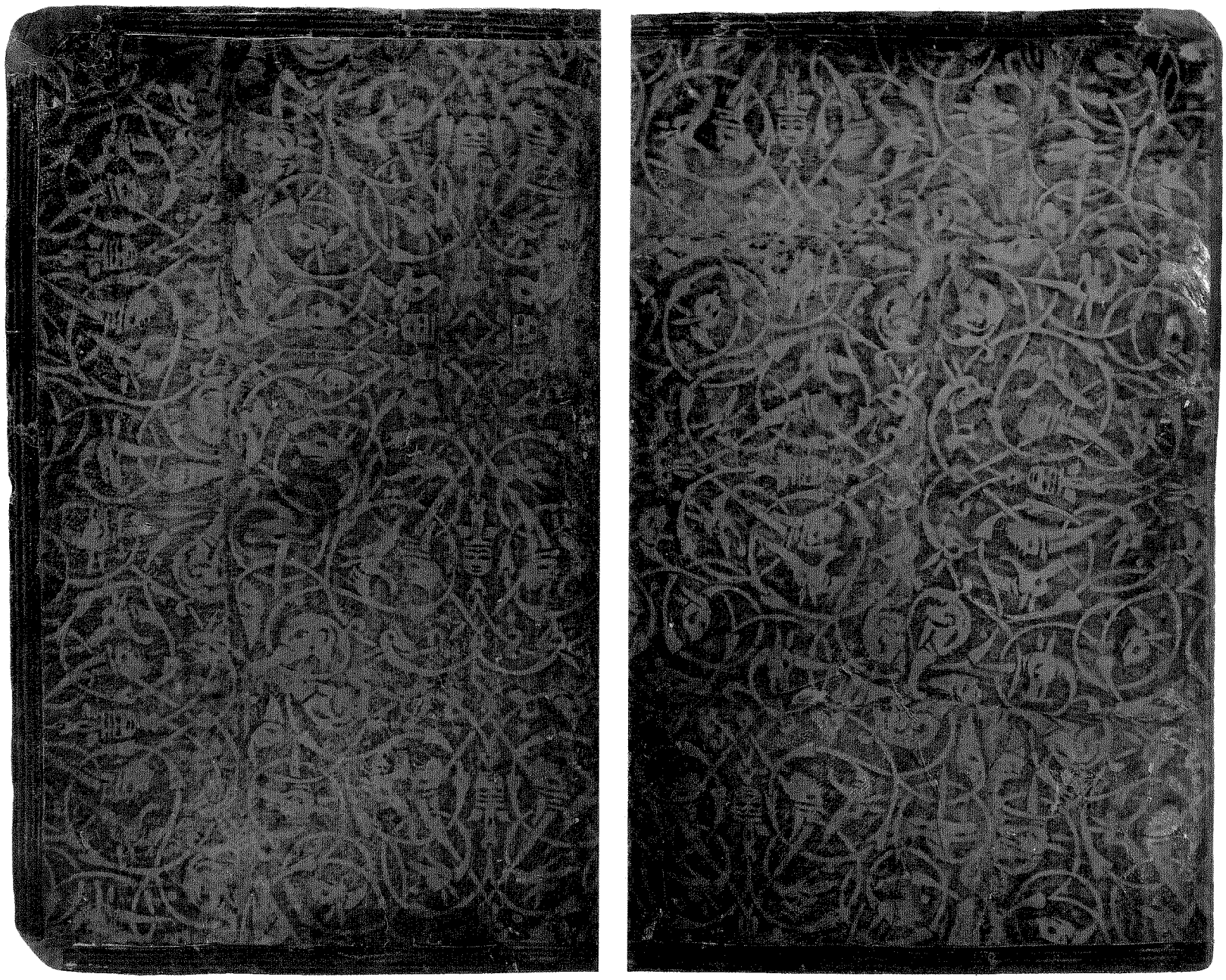
Part 13 is complete and has a frontispiece and an illuminated heading on the first page of the text, but Part 2 lacks these, and its first three folios may be replacements. The script is similar to that used on the succeeding pages, but the gold rules that surround the text are missing. The illuminated frontispiece on folio 1a of Part 13 has a large, empty lobed medallion at its centre. Panels above and below this bear a saying written in silver on the virtue of reading the Qur'an. There are knot motifs at the ends of the panels, and interesting polychrome floral decoration in the borders and around the medallion. The illuminated heading on the opening page of text consists of a panel containing the section number with knot motifs at either end. There is a gold border around the Qur'anic text on this and the facing page. Surah headings are written in undecorated gold *muḥaqqaq*. In both sections the verses are punctuated by rosettes with red and blue centres. Groups of five and ten verses are marked in the margin by polychrome rosettes.

The bindings are identical, strong evidence that they are contemporary with the manuscripts. The outer covers are of brown leather. The central field bears an eight-pointed star over an octagon with a rosette at the centre and is surrounded by a chain border. There are strapwork corner-pieces, and pyramids of knotwork project from the upper and lower borders. The outer covers were competently executed, but they are in no way exceptional. However, the doublures are unique.

They were block-printed with an unusually lively pattern of scrolls that are set with human and animal heads. Analysis of the design has shown that a block measuring 11×9cm was used to stamp it on to a leather



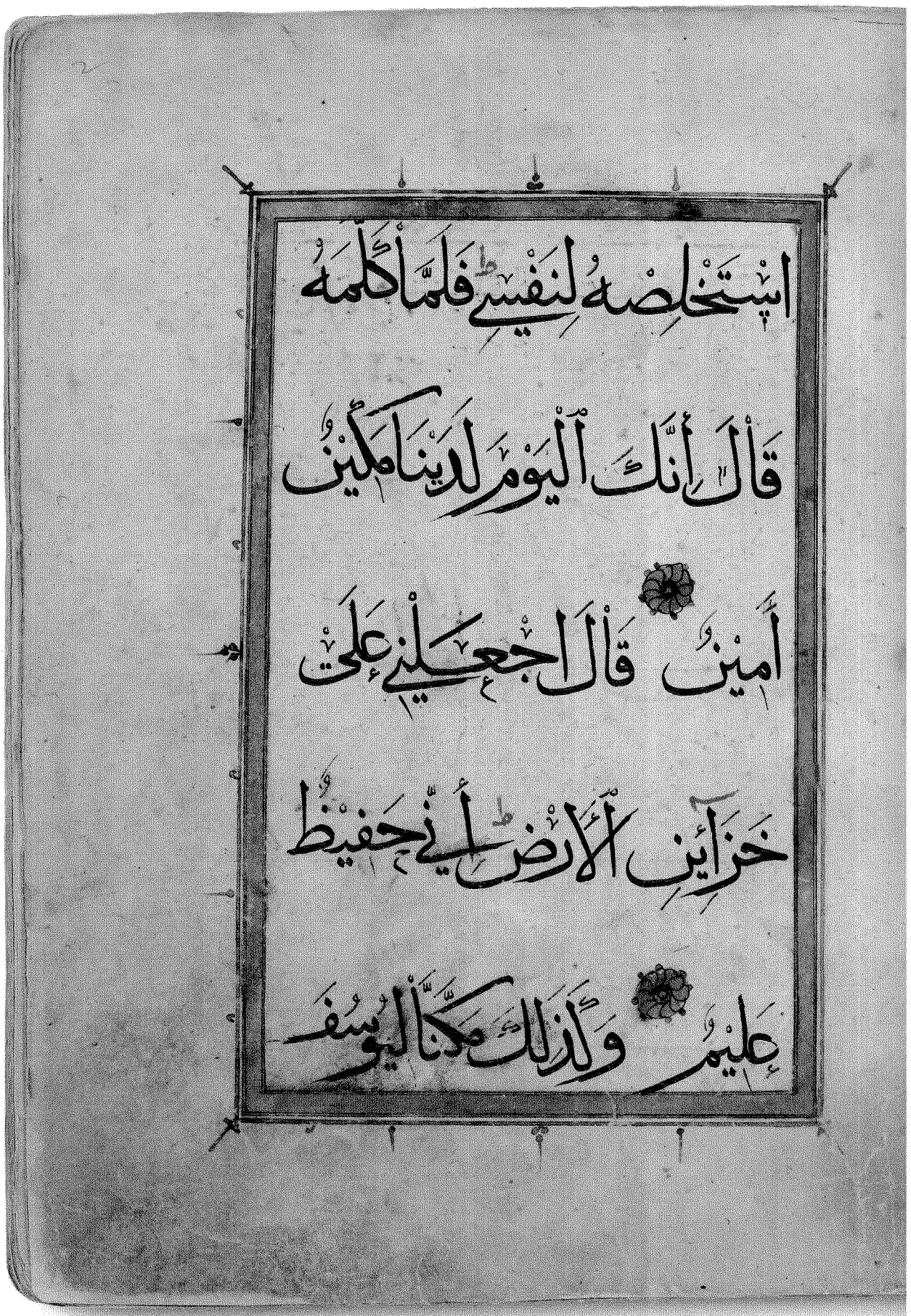
48 outer covers



48 inner covers

sheet to form a repeat pattern of scrolls ending in two types of human head and seven different sorts of animal head, both real and fantastic. At the centre of the block was a palmette formed by two human heads in profile. The heads wear long, pointed hats (Arabic *qalansuwah*) that culminate in the head of a bull. They flank a central head in full face wearing a Turkish hat. The humanoid palmette is surrounded by symmetrical scrolls, the tips of which end either in the same two human heads or in those of elephants, foxes, leopards, dragons, griffins and unicorns. The two flanking heads at the centre are confronted by dragons with open mouths.[1]

This figurative subject-matter is unprecedented in a Qur'an; what is more, although block-printed doublures are frequently found in Islamic bindings of the 13th and 14th centuries and may have been produced in earlier times, this is the only recorded example with an 'inhabited' scroll design. Almost all other 13th- and 14th-century designs on leather consist of arabesque patterns and scrolls. Occasionally geometric elements and religious and benedictory inscriptions occur, and in one instance a name is recorded, presumably that of the carver who produced the block.


اِسْتَخْلِصْهُ لِنَفْسِي فَلَمَّا كَلَّمَهُ
قَالَ إِنَّكَ ٱلْيَوْمَ لَدَيْنَا مَكِينٌ
أَمِينٌ قَالَ ٱجْعَلْنِي عَلَىٰ
خَزَآئِنِ ٱلْأَرْضِ إِنِّي حَفِيظٌ
عَلِيمٌ وَكَذَٰلِكَ مَكَّنَّا لِيُوسُفَ

وَمَآ أُبَرِّئُ نَفْسِيٓ ۚ إِنَّ ٱلنَّفْسَ

لَأَمَّارَةٌۢ بِٱلسُّوٓءِ إِلَّا مَا رَحِمَ

رَبِّيٓ ۚ إِنَّ رَبِّي غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ

وَقَالَ ٱلْمَلِكُ ٱئْتُونِي بِهِۦٓ

49
Part 24 of a 30-part Qur'an

Iran or Anatolia, *circa* AD 1280–1320

44 folios, 29.2 × 21.5 cm, with 5 lines to the page
Material A thick cream paper with inclusions, laid, with 5 lines to the centimetre
Text area 20.4 × 14.5 cm
Interlinear spacing 4.5 cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in thulth
Binding Mamluk or Ottoman, 14th century AD
Accession no. QUR228
Comparative items Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Arabic MSS 760–773; and Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1463.[1]

1. Arberry 1967, cat.no. 74, pl. 36. For the binding, see Haldane 1983, cat.nos 57–58.
2. See James 1988, cat.no. 59, fig. 122.
3. James 1988, cat.no. 61.

The section commences with a medallion bearing the section number on a green ground. This is surrounded by a border of pink, green and blue petals with palmettes projecting at four equidistant points. Medallions of this sort appear in Anatolian work of the 13th century, but they were not used in Iran before the 1330s. The text on the opening folios is in cloud cartouches over polychrome scrolls on a hatched ground. There are panels above and below, with *Sūrat al-wāqi'ah* (LVI), verses 77 and 78, in white *thulth* within blue lozenges. These are framed by rectangular panels with floral sprays over a green ground. The outer margins are decorated in a distinctive manner. In the centre there is a petalled medallion with petalled quatrefoils above and below and petalled half-medallions at the top and bottom. The petals are pink, green and blue.
petalled quatrefoils above and below and petalled half-medallions at the top and bottom. The petals are pink, green and blue.

Verses are punctuated by the word *āyah* ('verse') in gold Kufic within a red circle outlined in blue. Groups of five and ten verses are marked by gold medallions. Those marking groups of five verses have projections at the top and bottom and distinctive blue edging, while those marking groups of ten verses bear the word *'ashar* ('ten') in gold Kufic. Medallions of this type are frequently found in Iranian and Anatolian Qur'ans of the second half of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th. The final folios are copied over hatched grounds with large arabesque scrolls. There are gold floral chains in blue panels at the top and bottom and blue-edged medallions in the outer margins.

The binding is 14th- or 15th-century and has a central knotwork motif and corner-pieces in blind tooling enlivened with gold stamps. The flap has ropework decoration, and the doublure is printed with a quatrefoil design.

There is much in this manuscript to suggest that it is of Anatolian rather than Iranian or Baghdadi origin. The striking use of vivid colours that we associate with Baghdad at the beginning of the 14th century is present even earlier in Anatolia. The half-medallions on the opening pages and the lozenge-shaped cartouches, as well as the use of vivid colour, are all features of the John Rylands Qur'an, which is almost certainly Anatolian.[2] Furthermore, the appearance of the medallion on the opening folio is frequently found in Anatolian Qur'ans, whereas it would be unusual in an Iraqi or Iranian Qur'an of the date suggested here, the earliest Iranian example being in a Qur'an from Maraghah dated AH 738–9/AD 1338–9.[3]

49′ folio 1a

49 folios 1b–2a

فَمَنْ أَظْلَمُ مِمَّنْ كَذَبَ
عَلَى اللهِ وَكَذَّبَ
بِالصِّدْقِ إِذْ جَاءَهُ أَلَيْسَ

50

Part 10 of a 30-part Qur'an

Anatolia, perhaps Konya, *circa* AD1250–1350

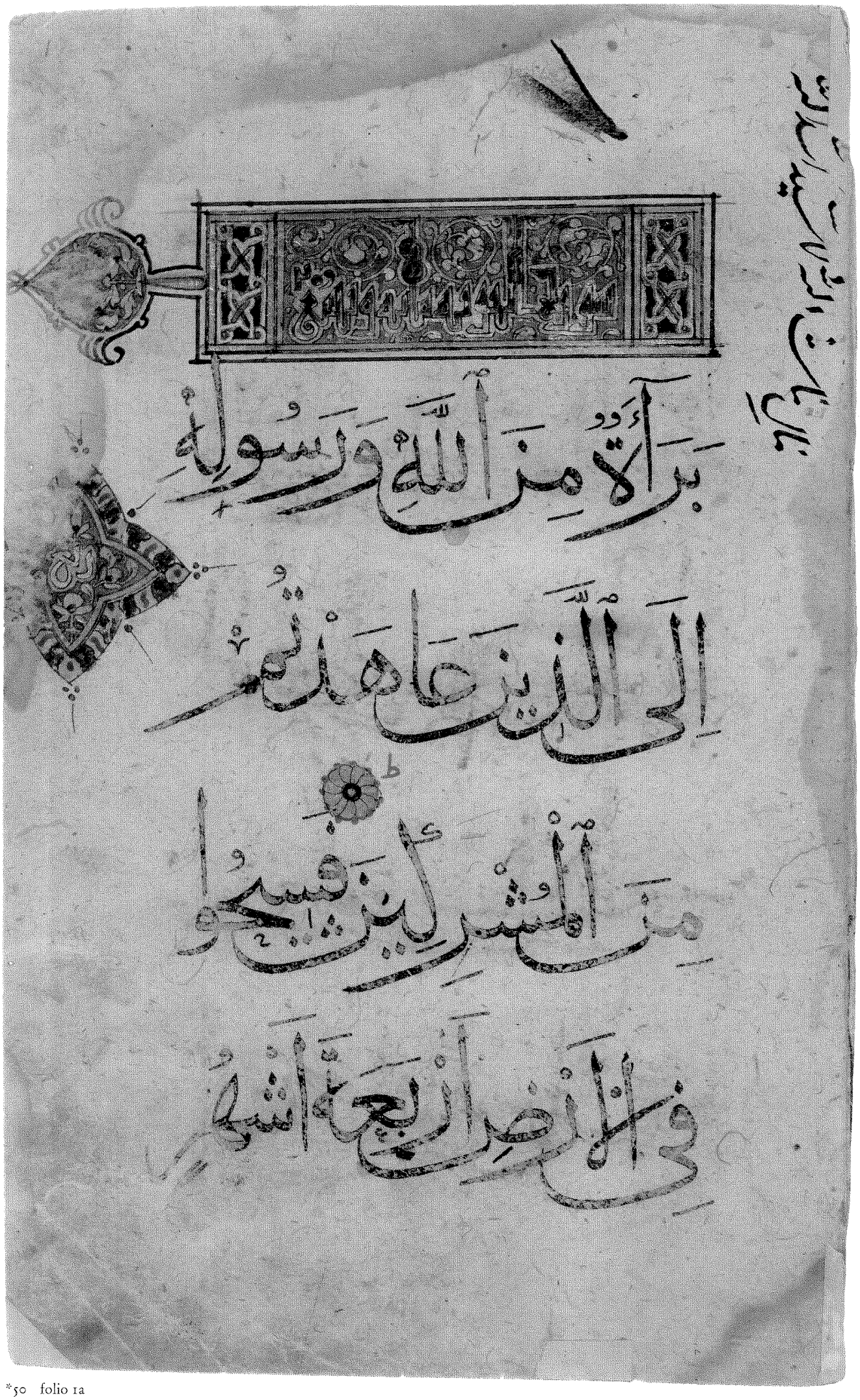
50 folios, 28 × 17.2 cm, with 5 lines to the page
Material A buff, rustic, floccular paper with inclusions, laid and wove; the laid lines are 6 cm apart
Text area 20.8 × 11 cm
Interlinear spacing 4.3 cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, incidentals in Kufic
Binding Modern
Accession no. QUR283
Comparative item Konya, Mevlana Museum, Qur'an MS. 84.[1]

1. This manuscript is unpublished.
2. See also cats 51 and 52 and James 1988, pp. 173–6.
3. The same motif occurs in Qur'an MS. 84 in the Mevlana Museum, which was copied in Konya.

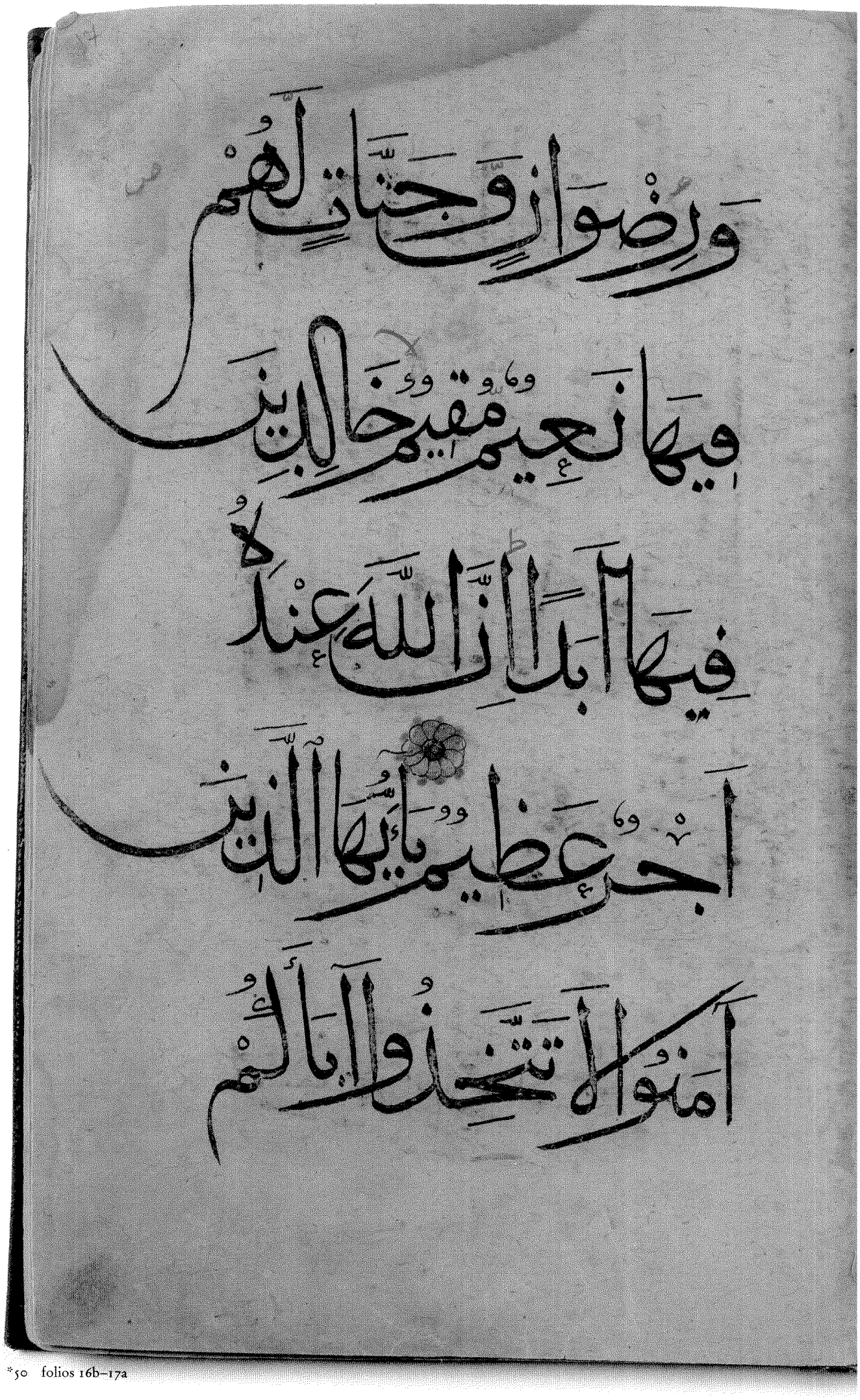
The manuscript has been re-bound with the leaves confused. On folio 1a there is a quatrefoil in the form of two crossed lozenges bearing the word *rub'* ('quarter'), indicating the beginning of a quarter of a section (*juz'*). The opening page of text bears the heading of *Sūrat al-tawbah* (IX) written in silver Kufic on a scroll ground. This is contained within a panel with double knot motifs at either end and is accompanied by a palmette in the margin surrounded by blue lines. Reading notations are in red. Verses are punctuated by gold rosettes with green centres and red dots.

The script has several unusual features. *Mīm* has an elongated tail stretching down into the margin; *yā'* often extends back under itself into the right-hand margin; *nūn* has a pronounced angular bend; *kāf* and *lām* are often split vertically; *kāf* has no extension stroke but is always accompanied by a minute letter *kāf*; and final *hā'* is often accompanied by a minute initial *hā'* with an extension stroke.[2] These peculiarities and certain features of the decoration, such as the crossed lozenge motif that occurs on several folios, suggest that the manuscript belongs to a group attributed to 14th-century Anatolia.[3]

There is a spurious colophon on the final page attributing the manuscript to Ibn al-Bawwab, but this was added after the pages had been confused.



*50 folio 1a


وَرِضْوَانٌ وَجَنَّاتٌ لَّهُمْ
فِيهَا نَعِيمٌ مُّقِيمٌ خَالِدِينَ
فِيهَا أَبَدًا إِنَّ اللَّهَ عِندَهُ
أَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ
آمَنُوا لَا تَتَّخِذُوا آبَاءَكُمْ

*50 folios 16b–17a

أَلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَهَاجَرُوا وَجَاهَدُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنْفُسِهِمْ

أَعْظَمُ دَرَجَةً عِنْدَ

اللَّهِ وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ

الْفَائِزُونَ يُبَشِّرُهُمْ

رَبُّهُمْ بِرَحْمَةٍ مِنْهُ

51

Single folio from Part 6 of a 30-part Qur'an

Probably Anatolia, *circa* AD 1330–1350

29×19cm, with 3 lines to the page
Material A deep cream, well polished paper, laid, with 6 lines to the centimetre
Text area 18×11cm
Interlinear spacing 6.5cm
Script The main text in muḥaqqaq, with a marginal translation in naskh and later inscriptions in Kufic
Accession no. QUR587
Comparative items Part 16 of the same Qur'an is in the Astan-i Quds Library in Mashhad;[1] a fragment of Part 17 is Washington, DC, Freer Gallery, MS.40.16; Part 21 is Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1458;[2] and fragments from Part 30 are cat. 52 and Sotheby's, Geneva 1985, lot no. 27. Compare also Mashhad, Astan-i Quds Library, MS. 293;[3] and Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Arabic MSS760–73.[4]

1. Harâtî 1987, pp. 90–91. The shelfmark is not given.
2. Arberry 1967, cat.no. 83 and pl. 38.
3. James 1988, cat.no. 58.
4. James 1988, cat.no 59, where other fragments are also listed.
5. James 1988, pp. 173–7.

This folio contains *Sūrat al-nisā'* (IV), verses 154–5. The script is a distinctive form of *muḥaqqaq* with some features of *thulth*. The three-line format is unusual in Qur'ans of this date. The verses were originally punctuated by gold rosettes with green centres, but other markers have been added in a different type of gold. There is a carefully written Persian translation in black *naskh* arranged in a zigzag pattern between the lines, and the margins on both sides are filled with Kufic inscriptions over gold scrolls; the inscriptions – *ḥadīths* regarding the virtue of reading the Qur'an – are in red on the *recto* and in silver grey on the *verso*. At the corners there are quatrefoils and an interlace pattern in red and gold.

Two complete sections and several fragments from this Qur'an are known, but only material from Part 6 has the Kufic inscriptions in the margins. Pages from other sections have frequently been published as 'Sultanate', but in their script and illumination they closely resemble two manuscripts that are almost certainly of Anatolian origin, a single-volume Qur'an in the Astan-i Quds Library in Mashhad and a 30-volume copy in the John Rylands University Library in Manchester.[5] The Rylands manuscript has the same three-line format as cats 51 and 52 and an interlinear translation in Persian and Turkish. This evidence suggests that the Qur'an from which cats 51 and 52 came can also be attributed to Anatolia.

52

Two folios from Part 30 of a 30-part Qur'an

Probably Anatolia, *circa* AD 1330–1350

Both folios 29×19cm, 3 lines to the page
Material As in cat. 51
Text area 18×11cm
Interlinear spacing 6.5cm
Script Muḥaqqaq
Accession no. QUR588
Comparative items As in cat. 51

These folios contain *Sūrat al-tatfīf* (LXXXIII), verses 17–26. They are evidently from the same 30-part Qur'an as cat. 51 but lack the framing Kufic inscriptions.

فِي السَّبْتِ وَأَخَذْنَا مِنْهُمْ
در شنبه وگرفتیم ازیشان
مِيثَاقًا غَلِيظًا
عهدی درشت یعنی استوار
فَبِمَا نَقْضِهِمْ مِيثَاقَهُمْ
بس به شکستن ایشان عهد استوار ایشان را

*51 folio b

إِنَّ الْأَبْرَارَ لَفِي نَعِيمٍ

هرآینه نیکان در نیکویها باشند

عَلَى الْأَرَائِكِ يَنْظُرُونَ

بر تختها در برده‌ها می‌نگرند

تَعْرِفُ فِي وُجُوهِهِمْ

بشناسی ای محمد در رویهای ایشان

*52 folios 1b–2a

أَدْرَيْكَ مَا عِلِّيُّونَ

داناکردت چیست علیّون

كِتَابٌ مَرْقُومٌ

نامهٔ است نبشته

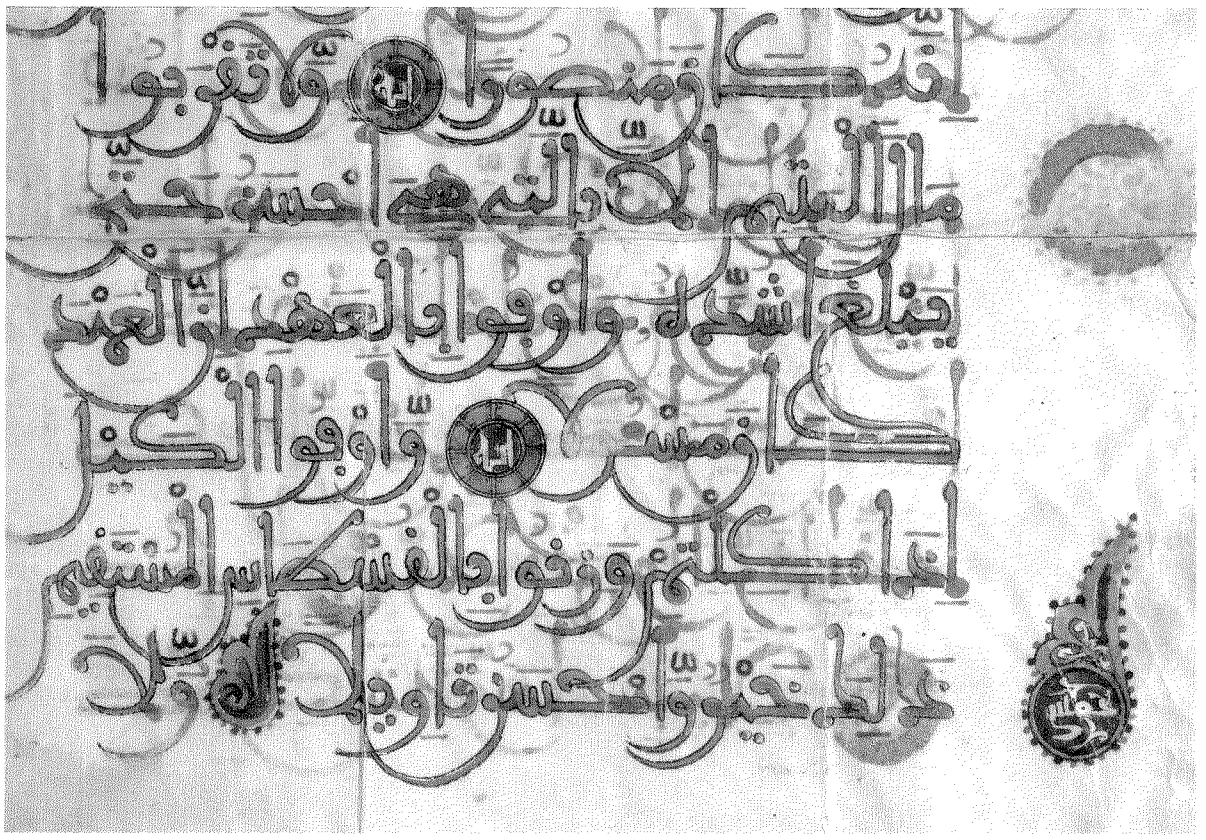
يَشْهَدُهُ الْمُقَرَّبُونَ

که حاضر آیندش نزدیک گردانیده شدگان

Granada and North Africa

By AD 1300 the only part of the Iberian peninsula still in Muslim hands was the Nasrid sultanate of Granada, which was hemmed in from the north by the Christian kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. The two Christian monarchies had acquired extensive territories in southern and eastern Spain from the collapsing Almohad caliphate in the middle of the 13th century, and these lands still had several million Muslim inhabitants, who were able to survive for quite some time after the Christian reconquest. Many other Iberian Muslims had chosen to emigrate to Granada or North Africa.

The Nasrid rulers of Granada were able to survive until 1492, as the kings of Castile preferred to exact a heavy tribute than invade the last foothold of Islam in Spain; they balked at the prospect of a protracted campaign in a mountainous but densely populated terrain. During



53 folio b (detail)

this period Granada and the other cities of the sultanate developed into centres of artistic production. In some areas, such as secular architecture, pottery and textiles, important examples of this production have survived and have been well studied. Dozens of works are devoted to the Alhambra, the glory of Nasrid architecture and the only Islamic palace of the period before 1450 to survive intact. However, little is known of the art of the book in Granada at any period, as vast numbers of manuscripts were destroyed in the years immediately following the fall of the sultanate.

The destruction of Arabic manuscripts by the Catholic state and church was intended to eliminate copies of the Qur'an from the former Muslim areas of the peninsula. The success of the book-burners was almost complete, for there is no surviving copy of the Qur'an that is known for certain to have been written in Granada. However, Granada was not isolated from the rest of the Islamic world, and Nasrid Qur'ans may well have made their way to safer havens before the fall of the sultanate; Muslims emigrating from Granada after the Christian conquest must also have taken their personal copies with them.

It is against this background that a number of Qur'ans have been attributed to the Nasrid capital or the other principal cities of the sultanate. The two best known are a copy dated 1304 and another donated to the Great Mosque of Malaga in 1440–1.[1] Both are copied in *andalusī* script, and the decoration of both is excellent but archaic, telling us little about the development of manuscript illumination in Granada. A comparison between the Qur'an produced in 1304 and another copied in Marrakesh in 1202–3 shows how little had changed in the intervening hundred years.[2] Another finely illuminated Qur'an which may be of 15th-century Granadan origin was copied in *andalusī* script and decorated by Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Ali ibn Yahya al-Balansi ('of Valencia') in 1469.[3]

Granada was often in alliance with the Marinid sultans of Fez. Several times during the 13th and 14th centuries the Marinids crossed the Mediterranean to help the Nasrid sultans, but after their defeat by the Castilians at the Rio Salado in 1340, the Marinids gave up all hope of influencing the course of events in Spain.

Qur'ans produced under the Marinids in the 14th century seem to have been written mostly in *maghribī* script. A two-volume copy dated 1306 and made for the Marinid sultan Abu Ya'qub Yusuf is in a large, bold *maghribī* hand, which seems to have become the norm.[4]

None of the Andalusian or Maghribi Qur'ans catalogued below is dated, so their attribution to the 14th century rests on an appraisal of their script and illumination. The most important piece is probably cat. 53, a page in gold *maghribī* from a Qur'an now divided among several collections. The opening and closing folios have never been discovered, but the manuscript was undoubtedly commissioned by a person of importance in either Granada or Morocco.

1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS arab. 385 and 395; see Déroche 1985.
2. For the Marrakesh Qur'an, see the table on p. 89.
3. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MS. R32; see Karatay 1962, cat.no. 323.
4. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, COD. ARAB. 2 and 3; see Munich 1982, cat.nos 58 and 59.

53
Single folio

North Africa, *circa* AD 1250–1350

29×22.6cm, with 9 lines to the page
Material Cream vellum, the flesh side yellowing; the recto is the hair side
Text area 19×15cm
Interlinear spacing 2cm
Script The main text in maghribī, incidentals in Kufic
Accession no. QUR520
Comparative items Other material from this Qur'an is in Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS. 1424;[1] Cairo, National Library;[2] Richmond, Surrey, Keir Collection, MS. VII.7;[3] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Smith-Lesouef 217;[4] Geneva, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection;[5] and New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS. 37.21.[6] Compare also cat. 58 and Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Arabic MS. 18[691].[7]

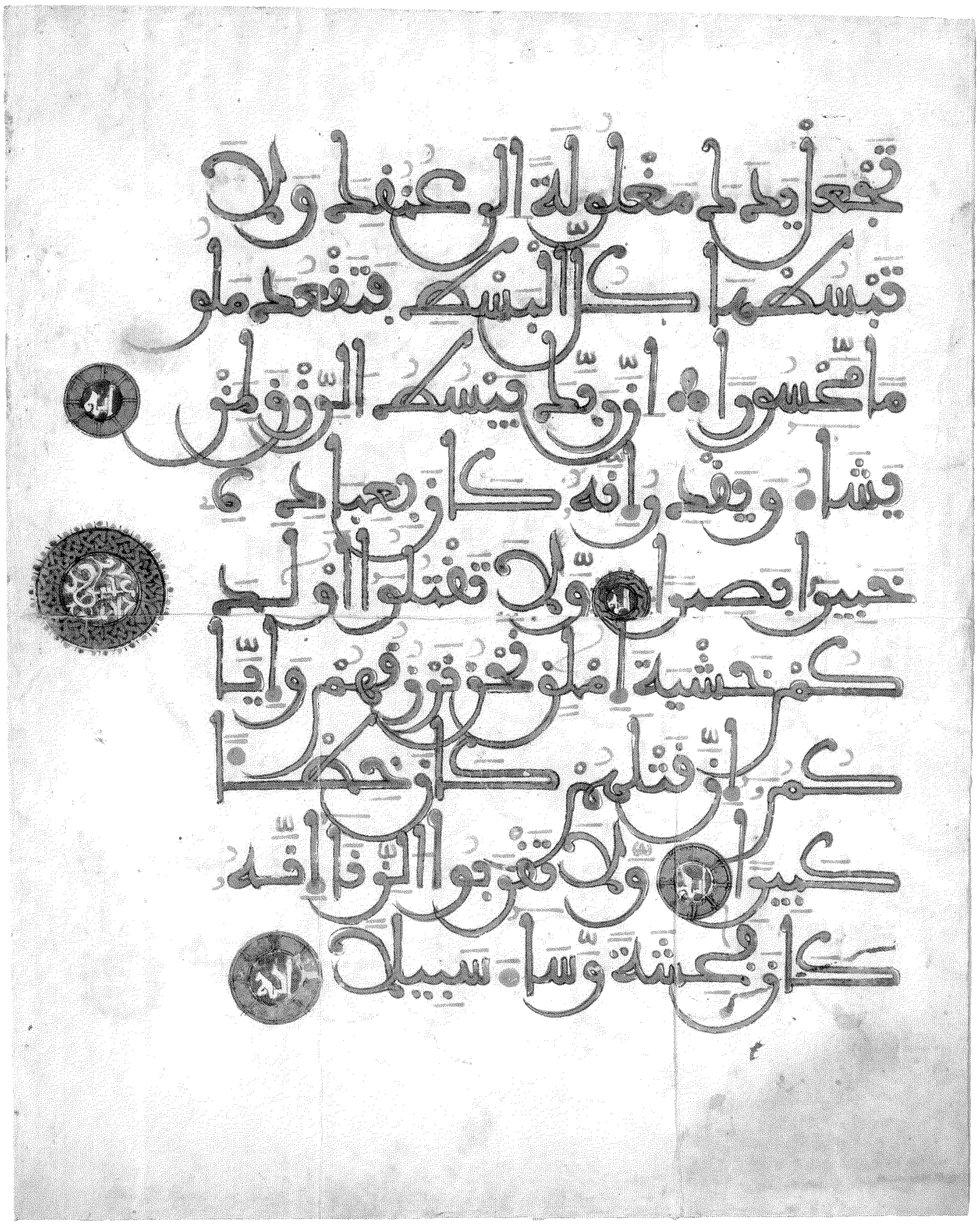
1. Arberry 1967, cat.no. 119; Lings 1976, pl. 95; James 1972, ill. 29; and James 1980, cat.no. 91.
2. Two unpublished folios, shelfmarks unknown.
3. Robinson and others 1976, p. 28, pl. 140.
4. Déroche 1985, cat.no. 304, pl. IIIa.
5. Raeuber 1979, fig. 19; Welch 1972–8, II, cat.no. 3; Welch & Welch 1982, cat.no. 2.
6. Dimand 1944, fig. 39.
7. Lings 1976, pl. 96.
8. Lings 1976, pl. 95.
9. Uppsala, University Library, MS. O. Bj. 48.
10. See Ricard 1933; and Lings & Safadi 1976, cat.no. 158.

This folio contains *Sūrat al-isrā'* (XVII), verses 29–35, and comes from what must have been one of the finest North African Qur'ans of the 13th and 14th centuries. The script is a fine gold *maghribī* with several distinctive features: the exaggeration of the final letter *dāl*; the way in which the vertical stroke of the letter *ṭā'* is attached to the base of the letter; the writing of the *lām-alif* ligature; and the looping of letters in a quasi-three-dimensional manner. Vocalization is in red and blue, with *hamzat al-qaṭ'* indicated by a yellow dot. Verses are punctuated by a medallion bearing the word *āyah* ('verse') in white Kufic script, while groups of five verses are marked in the margin by a decorated letter *hā'* containing the word *khams* in white Kufic, and groups of ten verses by circular marginal medallions.

This folio is one of a number of dispersed fragments that appear to come from the same Qur'an, although they exhibit quite significant variations in the drawing of the letters. The portion in the Chester Beatty Library, the folio in New York, one of the folios in Cairo and the folio in the Keir Collection come from the earlier part of the Qur'an, while cat. 53 and the examples in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan contain later portions of the text. The letters in the earlier parts are less elaborately drawn. There are differences in the *lām-alif* ligature and the letters *ṭā'* and *ẓā'*, for example. However, independent *alif* in the earlier fragments has a definite sublinear curve to the left, while in the later portions of the text it is straight. It is unlikely that these folios come from two separate manuscripts as their dimensions are virtually identical, and all have nine lines to the page, but it is possible that two calligraphers worked on the manuscript or that a single calligrapher altered the styling of his letters as the work progressed.

Lings has suggested that the Qur'an from which these fragments come was produced in Iberia in the 12th century,[8] but the vertical, rather than square, format of the manuscript suggests a 13th- or 14th-century date, while all 12th-century Qur'ans of established Iberian provenance are in *andalusī* script. Given the dominance of North African Almoravid and Almohad dynasties in Iberia in the 12th and 13th centuries, *maghribī* script may have been used for Qur'ans produced there, but none has yet been identified. The earliest known Qur'an in *maghribī* is dated 1090, but it gives no information on where it was copied.[9] One of the earliest dated Qur'ans in *maghribī* script that is unquestionably of North African origin is a ten-part copy produced for the Almohad ruler Abu Hafs 'Umar al-Murtada in Marrakesh; it is dated AH654/AD1256.[10]

The use of gold for Qur'ans is rare in the Maghrib, and this manuscript is one of the earliest examples. It seems probable that it was copied for a monarch of Granada or Morocco.



53 folio á

54
Part Two of a four-part Qur'an

North Africa or Iberia, *circa* AD 1250–1350

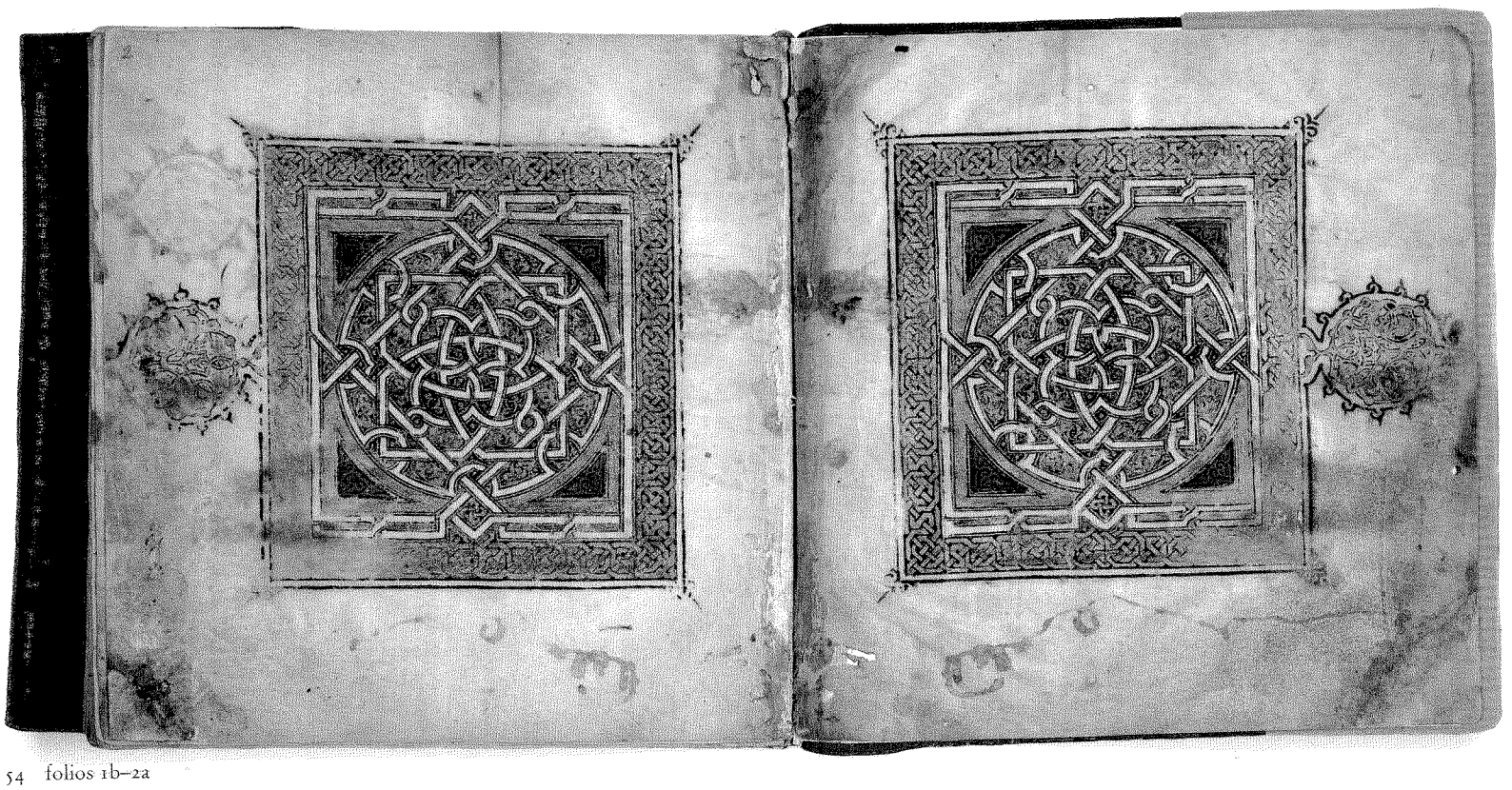
94 folios, 15.3×14.6cm, with 15 lines to the page
Material Cream vellum, the flesh side yellowing
Text area 9.6×9cm
Interlinear spacing 0.6cm
Script The main text in andalusī, incidentals in Kufic
Binding Probably 19th century
Accession no. QUR288

It is not clear whether this manuscript is of Iberian or North African origin. The hand is larger than the usual 12th-century *andalusī* type, but it cannot be considered *maghribī*, as the latter is more cursive. It is also worth noting that the calligrapher followed the Andalusian practice of pointing final *qāfs*, *nūns* and other letters.

The manuscript opens with a double page of illumination in a style typical of the 13th and 14th centuries. The design consists of an interlocking square and circle in white with a surrounding band of gold interlace. Surah headings are in gold Western Kufic with palmette medallions in the margin. The main textual division is into *ḥizbs* (sixtieths). Each of these divisions is marked by a circle in the margin bearing the word *ḥizb* in Kufic script.

Vocalization is in blue, with *hamzat al-qaṭ'* marked by a red dot; *hamzat al-waṣl* is unmarked. Verses are punctuated by three gold circles in a pyramid, and groups of five verses by a gold letter *hā'*. Groups of ten verses are indicated in two ways. When the tenth verse in the group finishes at the end of a line, a circle is placed in the margin. When it finishes in the middle of a line, this is marked in the text by a gold dot and by a circle in the margin. The text on the final pages is written in circles with surrounding gold decoration.

On the opening folio there are various later notations. These are mostly illegible, but one records a purchase. The red morocco binding looks relatively recent and is probably 19th-century.



54 folios 1b–2a

54 folios 2b–3a

55
Bifolio

North Africa, *circa* AD 1250–1350

Both folios 27.2 × 26.5 cm, with 7 lines to the page
Material Buff vellum, yellowing at the edges; the recto is the flesh side
Text area 22 × 17 cm
Interlinear spacing 3 cm
Script The main text in maghribī, incidentals in Kufic
Accession no. QUR521
Comparative items Istanbul, Museum of Turkish & Islamic Arts, MS. 360;[1] and Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MSS R21–R24.[2]

1. Lings 1976, pls 97–8.
2. Karatay 1962, cat.nos 306–9.

The text of these folios runs from *Sūrat al-muddaththir* (LXXIV), verse 55, to *Sūrat al-qiyāmah* (LXXV), verse 19. It is written in a large *maghribī* hand with vocalization in red and blue. *Hamzat al-waṣl* is in the form of a green dot, and *hamzat al-qaṭ'* is in the form of a yellow dot. Verses are punctuated by gold knots. Groups of five verses are marked by a letter *hā'* in gold, and groups of ten verses by a rosette; both are also marked by similar devices in the margin. The surah heading is written in gold in Western Kufic with gold marginal medallions.

This fragment can be compared with two Qur'ans in Istanbul. The first is in the Museum of Turkish & Islamic Arts and measures 53.5 × 60.5 cm. It is thus much larger than cat. 55, and it is also more lavishly illuminated. However, the script of the two manuscripts is similar in style, and both have the same seven-line format. This is almost certainly because the text was written in four volumes. The second Istanbul Qur'an is in the Topkapı Palace Library. It is similar in size and script to the example in the Museum of Turkish & Islamic Arts, and, although it is unsigned and undated, it bears a long notice recording an endowment made in Marrakesh in AH 635/AD 1238 by Ibrahim ibn al-Sayyid Abi Ibrahim ibn Amir al-Mu'minin. This person must have been descended from one of the Almohad caliphs.

56
Qur'an fragment

North Africa, *circa* AD 1350–1450

40 folios, 16.5 × 18 cm, with 13 lines to the page
Material Cream vellum, the flesh side yellowing
Text area 15.5 × 13 cm
Interlinear spacing 1.1 cm
Script The main text in a hand between maghribī and andalusī, incidentals in Kufic
Binding Modern
Accession no. QUR367

The text consists of parts of *Sūrat al-a'rāf* (VII) to *Sūrat al-kahf* (XVIII). The hand is midway between *andalusī* and *maghribī*. Vocalization is in red and blue, with *hamzahs* in red and yellow. The verses are unpunctuated, but each group of five verses is marked in the text by a circle with a half-palmette, while groups of ten verses are marked by a large circle with coloured segments. The surah headings are in Western Kufic painted in yellow to imitate gold.

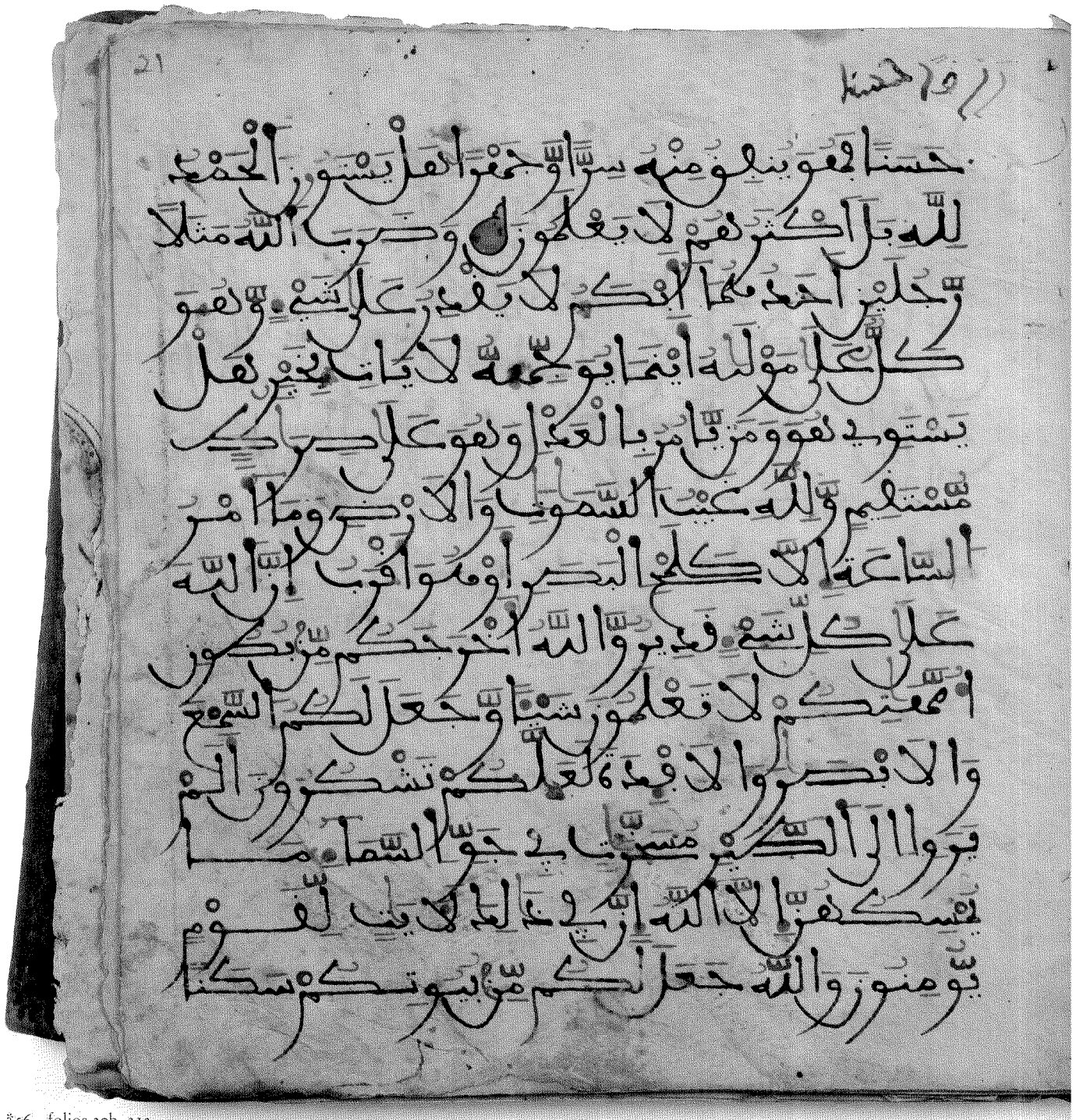
فمن شاء ذكرة وما
تذكرون الا ان يشاء
الله هو اهل التقوى واهل
المغفرة

سورة الواقعة مكية وهي تسع وتسعون آية

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

لا اقسم بيوم القيمة

55 folio 1a



*56 folios 20b–21a

لا يه لقوم يتبكرون والله خلقكم ثم يتوفاكم
ومنكم من يرد الى ارذل العمر لكيلا يعلم بعد
علم شيا ان الله عليم قدير والله فضل بعضكم
على بعض في الرزق فما الذين فضلوا برادي
رزقهم على ما ملكت ايمانهم فهم فيه سوا
افبنعمة الله يجحدون والله جعل لكم من انفسكم
ازواجا وجعل لكم من ازواجكم بنين وحفدة
ورزقكم من الطيبات افبالباطل يومنون وبنعمة
الله هم يكفرون ويعبدون من دون الله ما لا
يملك لهم رزقا من السموت والارض شيا ولا
يستطيعون فلا تضربوا لله الامثال ان الله
يعلم وانتم لا تعلمون ضرب الله مثلا عبدا
مملوكا لا يقدر على شي ومن رزقنه منا رزقا

57

Qur'an fragment

North Africa, *circa* AD 1250–1350

27 folios, 23.2 × 20.4 cm, with
11 lines to the page
Material Cream vellum, the
flesh side yellowing
Text area 16.5 × 13 cm
Interlinear spacing 1.5 cm
Script Maghribī
Binding A modern facsimile
Accession no. QUR378

The text runs from *Sūrat al-baqarah* (II), verse 203, to *Sūrat āl 'Imrān* (III), verse 67. The one surah heading is in gold Western Kufic with a marginal palmette medallion. The vocalization is in red and blue. *Hamzat al-waṣl* is marked by a green dot, and *hamzat al-qaṭ'* by a yellow dot. Verses are punctuated by pyramids of gold dots. Groups of five verses are indicated by a gold *hā'* in the text and margin, while groups of ten verses are marked by a rosette in the text and a medallion in the margin. The text is divided into quarters and eighths, which are indicated by gold Kufic inscriptions.

58

Unbound Qur'an fragment

Iberia or North Africa, *circa* AD 1250–1350

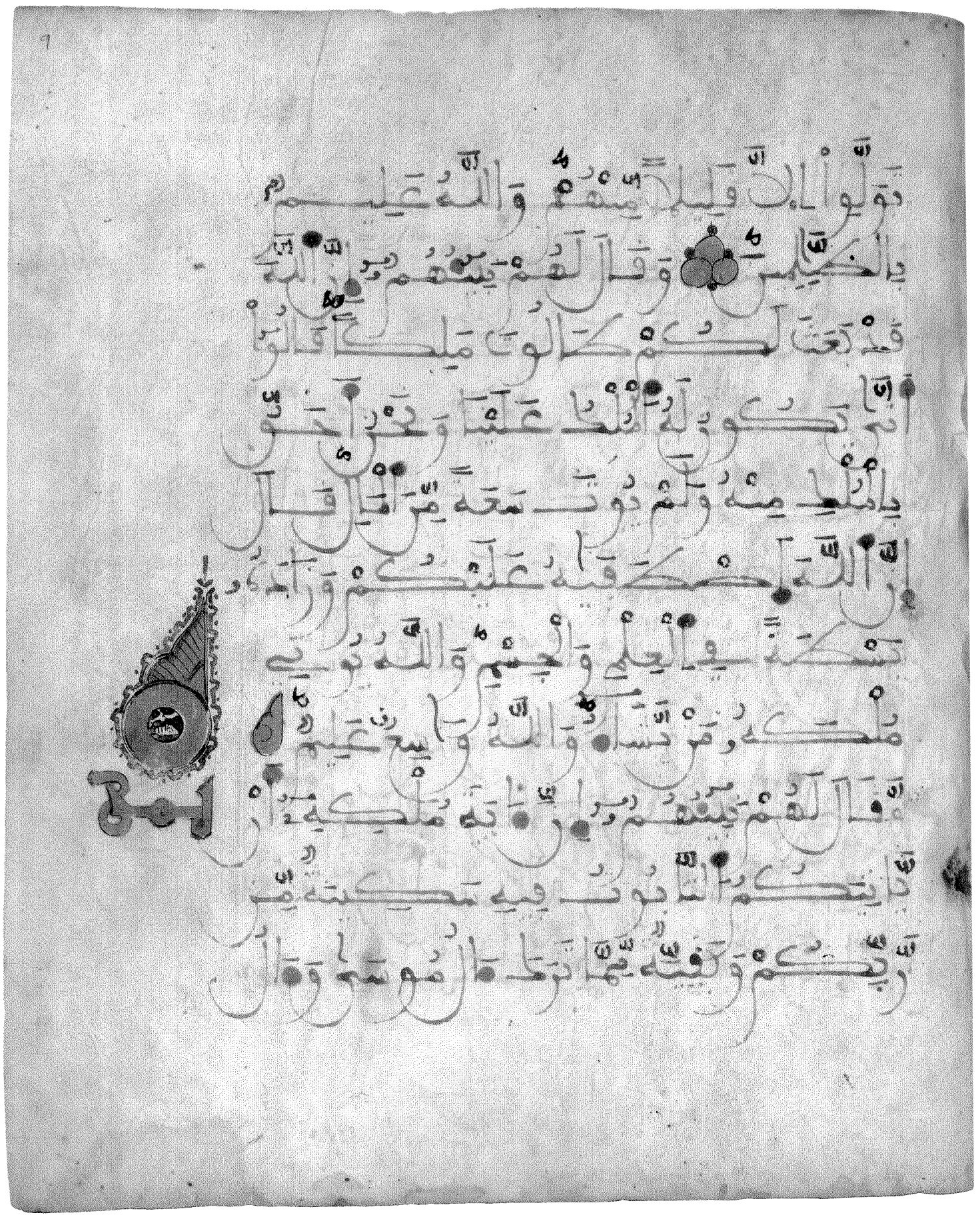
17 folios, 20 × 17.5 cm, with
7 lines to the page
Material Cream vellum, the
flesh side yellowing
Text area 14 × 10 cm
Interlinear spacing 2 cm
Script Maghribī
Binding Paper cover
Accession no. QUR672
Comparative items Cat. 53;
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
MS. arab. 440.[1]

1. Déroche 1985, cat.no. 311, pl. XV.
2. An example is Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, MS. R33, which was written in Marrakesh in AH 599/AD 1202–3; see Lings 1976, pl. 102.
3. Cat. 53 is also different in having a more emphatically vertical layout.

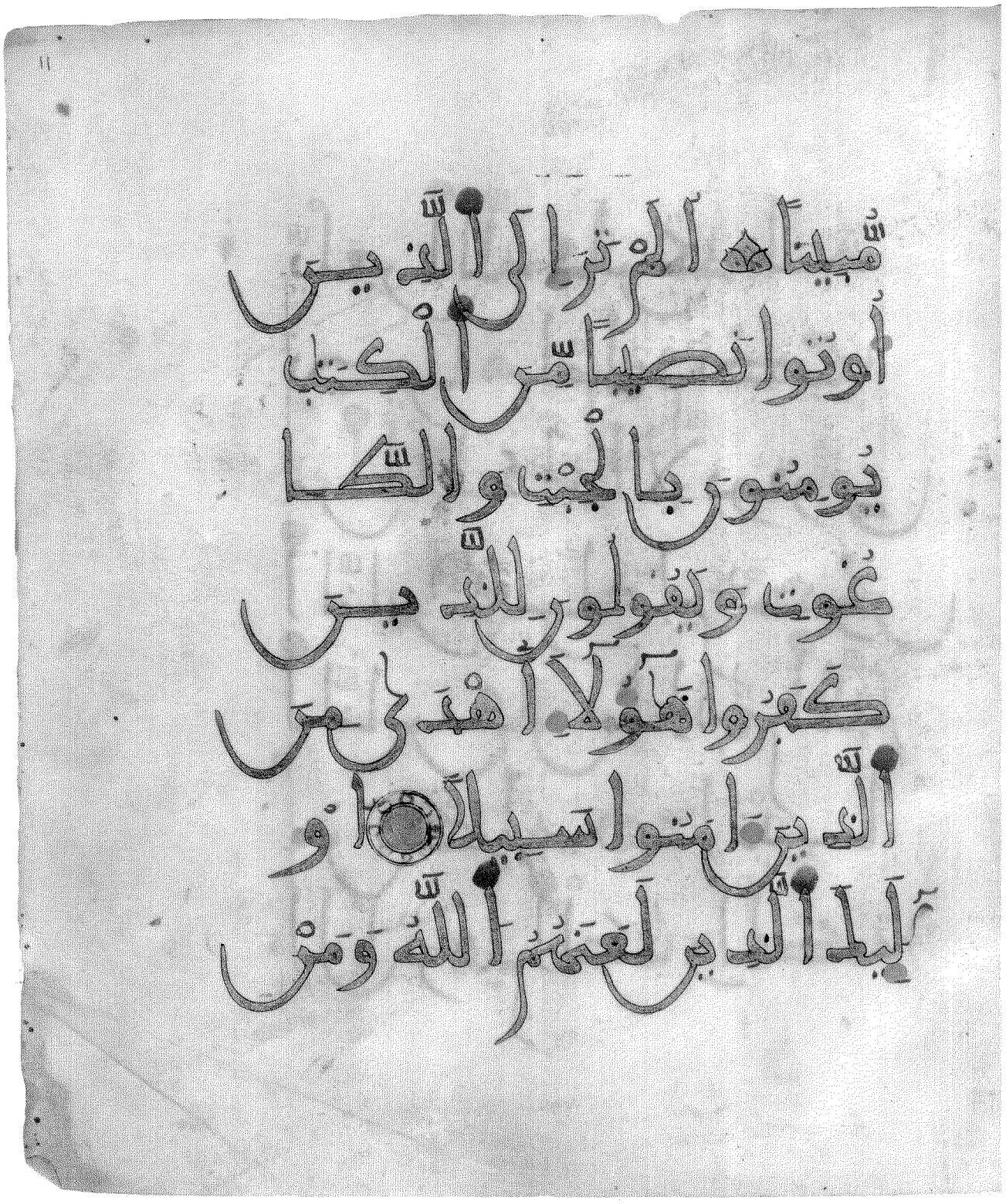
This fragment comprises *Sūrat al-nisā'* (IV) and probably comes from Part 1 of a four-part Qur'an. This was the commonest format in the Maghrib, and such four-part Qur'ans usually have seven lines to the page, as is the case here. It is a rare and beautifully executed example of *maghribī* script in gold. The calligrapher was not averse to splitting a word between the end of the last line on the *recto* side of a folio and the beginning of the first line on the *verso* side, and he sometimes split words between lines on the same page. This practice can be found in 13th-century Qur'ans from the Maghrib, although it had died out in the East several centuries earlier.[2]

Diacriticals are in black; vocalization is in red and blue; and *hamzahs* are in yellow and green. Verses are punctuated by a pyramid of three gold dots, groups of five verses by a gold letter *hā'*, and groups of ten verses by a circle.

The script of this fragment differs considerably from that of cat. 53, the best known example of chrysography in a *maghribī* hand,[3] but it is not unlike that of a Qur'an seized by the forces of Charles V at the capture of Tunis in AD 1535 and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Déroche has dated the latter to the 15th century, but cat. 58 lacks the flourish of the Paris manuscript, and it is probably earlier.



*57 folio 9a



مُّبِينًا ۝ أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى ٱلَّذِينَ
أُوتُوا نَصِيبًا مِّنَ ٱلْكِتَٰبِ
يُؤْمِنُونَ بِٱلْجِبْتِ وَٱلطَّا
غُوتِ وَيَقُولُونَ لِلَّذِينَ
كَفَرُوا هَٰٓؤُلَآءِ أَهْدَىٰ مِنَ
ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا سَبِيلًا ۝ أُو
لَٰٓئِكَ ٱلَّذِينَ لَعَنَهُمُ ٱللَّهُ وَمَنْ

*58 folios 10b–11a

ووم

بالله فقد افترى اثما
عظيما ۝ الم تر الى الذ
ين يزكون انفسهم بل
الله يزكي من يشاء ولا
يظلمون فتيلا ۝ انظر
كيف يفترون على الله
الكذب وكفى به اثما

Concordances

Concordance by catalogue number

Cat. 1	QUR284
Cat. 2	QUR86
Cat. 3	QUR589
Cat. 4	QUR186
Cat. 5	QUR87
Cat. 6	QUR572
Cat. 7	QUR497
Cat. 8	QUR583
Cat. 9	QUR704
Cat. 10	QUR450/495
Cat. 11	QUR29
Cat. 12	QUR30
Cat. 13	QUR52
Cat. 14	QUR302
Cat. 15	QUR692
Cat. 16	QUR269
Cat. 17	QUR573
Cat. 18	QUR628
Cat. 19	QUR307
Cat. 20	QUR318
Cat. 21	QUR671
Cat. 22	QUR473
Cat. 23	QUR472
Cat. 24	QUR162
Cat. 25	QUR832
Cat. 26	QUR474
Cat. 27	QUR220
Cat. 28	QUR370
Cat. 29	QUR182
Cat. 30	QUR181
Cat. 31	QUR242
Cat. 32	QUR484
Cat. 33	QUR159
Cat. 34	QUR561
Cat. 35	QUR480
Cat. 36	QUR349
Cat. 37	QUR177
Cat. 38	QUR108
Cat. 39	QUR562
Cat. 40	QUR850
Cat. 41	QUR317
Cat. 42	QUR580
Cat. 43	QUR807
Cat. 44	QUR187
Cat. 45	QUR582
Cat. 46	QUR470
Cat. 47	QUR595
Cat. 48	QUR132/433
Cat. 49	QUR228
Cat. 50	QUR283
Cat. 51	QUR587
Cat. 52	QUR588
Cat. 53	QUR520
Cat. 54	QUR288
Cat. 55	QUR521
Cat. 56	QUR367
Cat. 57	QUR378
Cat. 58	QUR672

Concordance by accession number

QUR29	Cat. 11
QUR30	Cat. 12
QUR52	Cat. 13
QUR86	Cat. 2
QUR87	Cat. 5
QUR108	Cat. 38
QUR132	Cat. 48
QUR159	Cat. 33
QUR162	Cat. 24
QUR177	Cat. 37
QUR181	Cat. 30
QUR182	Cat. 29
QUR186	Cat. 4
QUR187	Cat. 44
QUR220	Cat. 27
QUR228	Cat. 49
QUR242	Cat. 31
QUR269	Cat. 16
QUR283	Cat. 50
QUR284	Cat. 1
QUR288	Cat. 54
QUR302	Cat. 14
QUR307	Cat. 19
QUR317	Cat. 41
QUR318	Cat. 20
QUR349	Cat. 36
QUR367	Cat. 56
QUR370	Cat. 19
QUR378	Cat. 57
QUR433	Cat. 48
QUR470	Cat. 46
QUR472	Cat. 23
QUR473	Cat. 22
QUR474	Cat. 26
QUR480	Cat. 35
QUR484	Cat. 32
QUR495	Cat. 10
QUR497	Cat. 7
QUR520	Cat. 53
QUR521	Cat. 55
QUR572	Cat. 6
QUR573	Cat. 17
QUR580	Cat. 42
QUR582	Cat. 45
QUR583	Cat. 8
QUR587	Cat. 51
QUR588	Cat. 52
QUR589	Cat. 3
QUR595	Cat. 47
QUR628	Cat. 18
QUR671	Cat. 21
QUR672	Cat. 58
QUR692	Cat. 15
QUR704	Cat. 9
QUR807	Cat. 43
QUR832	Cat. 25
QUR850	Cat. 40

Documentation

Cat. 6, folio 199b

...'Ali ibn Husayn ibn Ahmad ibn Husayn wrote... This Qur'an is the right and property of my dearest and closest son, Muhammad–May God give him long life! No other son, nor anyone, has a right to it. This...document (is) written...

كتب . . . علي بن حسين بن احمد بن حسين . . . اين جامع قرآن حق وملك فرزند اعز اخص محمد طال عمره وهيچ فرزندان ديگرم واحدان حقي ونصبتى نيست واين . . . حجت (؟) نوشته

Cat. 6, folio 199b

Its..., its correction and its illumination were completed with the help of God–Praised be He!–and His full assistance on Friday, 17 Ramadan the Blessed in the year 582 (2 December 1186).

اتفق الفراغ من تصحيفه (مصحفه؟) وتصحيحه وتذهيبه بتوفيق الله تعالى وحسن معونته في يوم الجمعة السابع عشر من رمضان المبارك سنة اثنى وثمانين وخمس مائة

Cat. 6, folio 200a

God's servant most in need of His forgiveness, Abu 'Abdallah al-Husayn ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Mihran al-Muqri' al-Marqi, furnished this blessed volume with the Ten Readings, together with their transmissions, in the text and the margins, copied out in seven sevenths; the Ten Readings are in the margins and the Seven are (indicated) in the text; Saturday, 5 Jumada II, in the year 582 (24 August 1186)...

فرغ من تفريغ هذا الجامع المبارك بالقرآة العشر ورواتهم جمعاً متناً وحواشياً بالأسباع السبع حواشيه بالقرآة العشر ومتنه بقرآة السبع يوم السبت الخامس من جمادي الآخرة من شهور سنة اثنى وثمانين وخمس مائة احوج عبّاد الله ألى غفرانه ابو عبد الله الحسين بن احمد بن محمد بن مهران المقرئ المرقى عفا الله عنه حامدًا لله ومصلياً على نبيه محمد وآله بورك لصاحبه ولكاتبه ولمَن قرأه وقال امين رب العالمين

Cat. 6, folio 200a

The sinful servant needful of the mercy of the Most Kind King, Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Imami, examined this–May God forgive him and his parents and all believers, male and female, by Your mercy, O Most Merciful! This was written on the twelfth day of God's glorious month of Sha'ban in the year 601 (6 April 1205).

(O God,) forgive that servant who reads this happy distich!

...forgive this scribe, O Most Merciful of the Merciful!

نظر فيه العبد المذنب الضعيف المحتاج الى ملكه اللطيف محمد بن احمد الامامي غفر الله له ولوالده ولجميع المؤمنين والمؤمنات برحمتك يا ارحم الراحمين وكتب ذلك في الثاني من شهر الله المعظم شعبان من شهور سنة احدى وستمائة

[خدا]يا بيامرز آن بندهرا
كى بر خواند اين بيت فرخندهرا
. . . كى يا ارحم الراحمين
عفو كن گناه نويسندهرا

Cat. 7, folio 1a (reproduced on p. 233)

For the library of our lord, the ruler, the king...the learned, the just, the one supported (by God),... (Qutb) al-Dunya wa'l-Din..., glory of mankind,... helper of...honour of kings and sultans,...of the unbelievers and atheists, supporter of the holy warriors...protector of the frontiers of the Muslims, star...of Iraq, Shahriyar of Syria, champion of the World, Alb Inanj Qutlugh Toghan Tekin Abu'l-Muzaffar Muhammad ibn Zangi ibn Mawdud ibn Zangi, supporter of the Commander of the Faithful–May God glorify his victories!

لخزانة مولانا المولى الملك . . . العالم العادل المؤيّد . . . الدنيا والدين . . . فخر الانام غياث . . . شرف الملوك والسلاطين . . . الكفرة والملحدين نصير المجاهدين حامى ثغور المسلمين فلك . . . العراق شهرياد الشام بهلوان جهان الب اينانج قتلغ طغان تكين ابى المظفّر محمد بن زنكى بن مودود بن زنكى نصير امير المؤمنين اعز الله انصاره

Cat. 7, folio 1a (reproduced on p. 233)

That is on 4 Dhu'l-Qa'dah 6?7 (1207?, 1217?).

وذلك في رابع ذي القعدة سنة سبع . . . وستمائة

Cat. 9, folio 644a

The humblest of God's creation, Qutlugh ibn 'Abdallah, wrote it in the year 634 (1236–7).

كتبه اضعف خلق الله قتلغ بن عبد الله فى سنة اربع وثلاثين وستمائة

Cat. 11, folio 58a

Yaqut al-Musta'simi wrote it in the City of Peace (Baghdad).

كتبه ياقوت المستعصمي بمدينة السلم

Cat. 13, *recto* of the front flyleaf

This Qur'an is in the hand of Yaqut. Allah would not approve that it should belong to those who reject the message of the Qur'an. 'If all mankind and all the jinns were to gather together to produce the like of the Qur'an, they could not produce the like thereof, even if they backed each other up with help and support' (XVII, 88). Written in the last ten days of Muharram in the first decade of the first hundred years of the first thousand years of the Holy Hijrah of the Prophet– One thousand thousand praises and salutations be upon him! (Muharram 910/June 1504)

هذا المصحف بخط ياقوت المستعصى لا يحبّ الله ان يكون عند الروافظ « (ولو) اِجْتَمَعَتِ ٱلْاِنْسُ وَٱلْجِنُّ عَلَى أَنْ يَأْتُوا بِمِثْلِ هٰذَا ٱلْقُرآنِ لَا يَأْتُونَ بِمِثْلِهِ وَلَو كَانَ بَعْضُهُمْ لِبَعضٍ ظَهِيرًا » قد حرّر فى العشر الآخر من شهر المحرّم من العشر الاول من المائة الاولى من الالف الاول من الهجرة المقدّسة النبوية عليه الف الف من الثناء والتحية

Cat. 13, *verso* of the front flyleaf

In the opinion of the humblest, Muhammad Amin, official of the library, this is the hand of the Qiblah of Scribes, Yaqut.

باعتقاد كمترين محمّد امين عمله كتابخانه اين خط قبلة الكتاب ياقوتست

Cat. 13, *verso* of the front flyleaf

In the opinion of the least of God's creatures, 'Ali Naqi al-Imami, this Word of the Omniscient King is in the hand of the Qiblah of Scribes, Yaqut.

باعتقاد اقلّ خلق الله علي نقي الأمامي اين كلام ملك علّام خطّ قبلة الكتّاب ياقوتست

Cat. 13, folio 302b

The opinion of the humblest, Zayn al-'Abidin, is that this is the hand of the Qiblah of Scribes, Yaqut al-Musta'simi.

اعتقاد كمترين زين العابدين اينست كه اين خطّ قبلة الكتاب ياقوت المستعصمي است

Cat. 13, folio 302b

The opinion of the least of God's creatures is that this Noble Qur'an is in the hand of the Qiblah of Scribes, Yaqut.

اعتقاد كمترين خلق اينست كه اين قرآن مجيد خطّ قبله الكتاب ياقوتست

Cat. 14, folio 27a

He is God–Praised be His beloved estate! (This) is the hand of the Qiblah of Scribes, Yaqut ibn 'Abdallah al-Musta'simi, thanking God–Praised be He!

هو الله تعالى شأنه العزيز من خط قبلة الكتّاب ياقوت بن عبد الله المستعصمى حامدًا لله تعالى

Cat. 15, folio 580b

In the opinion of the miserable pauper, it is clear that this is the hand of Yaqut. Ahmad-i Nayrizi the Master wrote it.

آنچه در نزد فقير حقير ظاهر است خط ياقوتست. كتبه احمد نيريزى معلم

Cat. 15, folio 580b

In the opinion of the least (of the servants), it is clear that this is the hand of Yaqut. The pauper 'Abd al-Rahim al-Jazayiri.

آنچه در نزد کمترین ظاهر است خط یاقوت است. الفقیر عبد الرحیم الجزایری

Cat. 15, folio 580b

It was requested of the esteemed expert at the Malik National Library that he should examine the script of this Noble Qur'an. Dr Husayn Miftah, Abad 1344.

از کارشناس محترم کتابخانهٔ ملی مالك متمنی است نسبت بخط این قرآن کریم اظهار نظر فرمایند. دکتور حسین مفتاح بیستم آبان ١٣٤٤

Cat. 15, folio 580b

Without doubt or reservation, this is the hand of Yaqut. Ahmad Suhayli Khwansari, 1344.

بی شك و تردید خط یاقوتست. احمد سهیلی خوانساری ١٣٤٤

Cat. 17, folio 301a

The feeble and sinful servant, who hopes for the mercy of the Merciful,...ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr-i Khattat, called '...dawlati' completed...That occurred at the beginning of Jumada I in the year 667 (January 1269).

نجز . . . العبد الضعيف الخاطئ الراجي الى رحمة الرحمان (*sic*) . . . بن محمد بن ابو بكر (*sic*) خطاط يُعرف بـ . . . دولتي وذلك في التاريخ الغرة من جمادي الاولى سنة سبع وستين وستمائة

Cat. 17, folio 301b

Seeking and desiring the favour of God, for God–Praised and blessed be He!–has said, 'And whatever good ye send forth for your souls before you, ye shall find it with God' (II, 110), Husayn Dede ...ibn 'Abdallah (or ibn Hamzah) endowed and bequeathed this Noble Volume to the mosque of the late Mustafa Paşa for the Sufi inhabitants of the *khānaqāh* to read, as a valid, legal endowment, on condition that it shall never be taken out of the mosque and never given away or pawned. 'If anyone changes the bequest after hearing it, the guilt shall be on those who make the change. For God knows and hears all things' (II, 181). Ramadan 957 (September 1550).

قد وقف وحبس هذه الختمة الشريفة المباركة حسين دده بن (عبد الله) حمزة طلباً لوجه الله وابتغاءً لمرضات الله كما قال الله تبارك وتعالى « وَمَا تُقَدِّمُوا لِأَنْفُسِكُم مِنْ خَيْرٍ تَجِدُوهُ عِنْدَ اللهِ » في جامع مرحوم مصطفى پاشا لقراءة سواكن (*sic*) فقراء خانقاءيه بشرط لا يخرجون المصحف في خارج (*sic*) الجامع ابدًا وقفاً صحيحاً شرعياً لا يوهب ولا يرهن ابدًا « فَمَنْ بَدَّلَهُ بَعْدَ مَا سَمِعَهُ. . . »رمضان سنة سبع وخمسين وتسعمائة

Cat. 18, folio 363a

Muhammad ibn Sulayman...ibn Muhammad ibn Yunis al-Warraq (completed) its copying on the morning of the Friday half-way through God's blessed month of Jumada...–May God glorify its bounty!–in the year 669 (mid-April 1271). May (God) bless its owner, and forgive (the scribe) and his parents,...and whoever reads it, and all Muslims, male and female!

. . . من تحريره الضحوة يوم الجمعة منتصف شهر الله المبارك جمادي . . . عظّم الله ببركته من شهور سنة تسع وستين وست مائة . . . هجرية محمد بن سليمن . . . ابن محمد بن يونس الورّاق . . . بارك لصاحبه واغفر . . . به ولوالديه ولا . . . فيه ولمن قرأه ولجميع المسلمين والمسلمات . . .

Cat. 18, folio 1a

The lady, the queen, the learned, the worshipful, the pious, cream of women in the world, Sharaf Sitti, daughter of the late king Amir Malik ibn Shir (has endowed this) as a valid, permanent, eternal, unquestionable and inviolable endowment, not to be sold or given away, nor altered nor changed...

. . . الصاحبة الملكة العالمة العابدة الزاهدة زبدة النساء في العالمين شرف ستى بنت الملك السعيد الشهيد امير ملك بن شير وقفاً صحيحاً مؤبدًا مخلدًا مؤكدًا محرماً لا يباع ولا يورث . . . ولا يبدل ولا يغير اللهم . . . الصاحبة

Cat. 18, folio 363b

. . . صاحبه ومالكه وحافظه وناظره وقارئه الملكة الكبيرة عالمة عابدة زاهدة الكريمة الشريفة . . . الدهر . . . رشيدة . . . الخواتين اكرم النساء في العالمين حافظة الحبيب . . .

. . . its owner and possessor, its memorizer, examiner and reader, the great queen, learned, worshipful and pious, the well-born and noble . . . of fate . . . orthodox . . . of ladies, most noble of women in the World, preserver . . .

Cat. 20, folio 121b

كمل المصحف بيمن الله ويسره وصلى الله على محمد وعلى اله الطّيبين الطاهرين وسلّم تسليماً مما كتبه بخط يده الفانية يوسف بن عبد الله بن عبد الواحد بن يوسف بن خلدون بمدينة بلنسية حماها الله سنة ست وتسعين وخمسمائة

The volume was finished with the blessing and facility of God–May He bless Muhammad good and fragrant and his family and grant them salvation! (This) is one of the things Yusuf ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-Wahid ibn Yusuf ibn Khaldun wrote in the city of Valencia–May God protect it!–in the year 596 (1199–1200).

Cat. 20, folio 122a

وكان كماله لاحمد بن محمد بن عبد الرحمان (*sic*) بن بيطَش المخزومي عفا الله عنه وجعل القرآن له نورًا يستضئ به في خلقه يوم لقائه يجوز به صراطه ويهتدى به الى جناته النعيم وصلى الله على محمد خاتم النبيين صلاةً تامةً الى يوم الدين وعلى اله وسلّم تسليما

Its completion was for Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Bitash al-Makhzumi–May God forgive him and make the Qur'an a light for him, a light by which his character will be illuminated on his day of reckoning, a light that will ease his way and guide him to his place in paradise. May God bless Muhammad, the seal of the prophets, with a full blessing, until the Day of Judgement, and may He bless his family and grant them salvation!

Cat. 21, folio 269a

في سنة
كتبه علي ابن (؟) محمد الحسيني سبعمائة

'Ali ibn (?) Muhammad al-Husayni wrote this in the year 700 (1300–1).

Cat. 25, folio 360a (reproduced on p. 233)

الحمد لواقـ . . . الاعد . . . محمد نبيه وآله . . . من تحرير هذا المصحف الكريم . . . الضعيف النحيف افقر عباد (الله) الر(؟) وكتبه عبد الله الصيرفى . . . آواخر رمضان المبارك سنة احدى وثلاثين وسبعمائة فى بلد تبريز (؟) . . . المحمية حميت عن البلية

Thanks be to (God) . . . Muhammad, His prophet, and his family . . . The feeble and weak, the humblest of God's servants . . . , 'Abdallah al-Sayrafi, (completed) the copying of this Noble Qur'an . . . the last days of Ramadan the Blessed in the year 731 (July 1331) in the city of Tabriz (?) . . . the Protected–May it be shielded from calamity!

Cat. 27, folio 48a

حرره العبد المذنب امير حاج بن احمد الـ . . .ى فى شوّال سنة اربع وثلثين وسبعمائة حامدًا ومصليًا لله تعالى

The sinful slave Amir Hajj son of Ahmad al-...i wrote it in Shawwal AH 734 (June AD 1334), praising and calling blessings upon God–Praised be he!

Cat. 28, folio 33b of Part 6 and folio 38b of Part 30

بخط العبد الفقير الى الله الملك الخبير صفي الدين صُهَيْب بن الحاج عوض بن حسن الحافظ الـ . . . في صفر سنة ثلاثة وخمسين وسبعمائة

In the hand of the servant needful of the mercy of God the All-Knowing King, Safi al-Din Suhayb ibn al-Hajj 'Iwad al-Hafiz al-. . . in Safar of the year 753 (March 1353).

Cat. 29, folio 2a (reproduced on p. 233)

وقفت هذا الجزء مع اخوتها الاجزاء الثلثين تقرّباً الى حضرة الله تعالى وتوسلاً اليه ملكة الدنيا معلنة كلمة الله العليا مشيّدة معالم

In order to bring her closer to the Lord–Praised be He!–and to solicit His favour, the queen of the world, propagator of the most exalted Word of God, founder

(?) of the abode of good works,...Bilqis of the kingdom of Solomon, disseminator of peace and protection, Safwat al-Dunya wa'l-Din Fars Malik Khatun, daughter of the lord of the kings of Islam, the master happy (in Paradise), the late Sharaf al-Dunya wa'l-Din Mahmudshah–May God illuminate his... and prolong his endowing and almsgiving estate!–has endowed this section, together with its sisters among the thirty sections, as a permanent, eternal endowment, on condition that it be placed in her house and abode for as long as she lives–May God extend her life for ever!–and that after her death it should be placed at the head of her good, pure tomb so that it may be read. This is an endowment dated... 'If anyone changes the bequest after hearing it...' (II, 181).

المبرات . . . بلقيس ملك سليمان باسطة الامن والامان صفوة الدنيا والدين فَارْس مَلِك خاتون بنت مولى ملوك الاسلام المخدوم السعيد الشهيد شرف الدنيا والدين محمود شاه انار الله برهانه وايّد دولته الوافقة المتصدقة وقفاً مؤبدًا مخلدًا مشروطاً بان يوضع في دارها ومحّل قرارها ما دامت في الحيوة طول الله تعالى عمرها وبعد مجابتها (؟) يكون موضوعاً على رأس تربتها الطيّبة الطاهرة حتى يقرأ منه وهذا وقف بتأريخ . . . « فَمَنْ بَدَّلَهُ . . . فَإِنَّمَا . . . »

Cat. 30, folio 1a

The lord, the fortunate, the most great, the pride of the greatest ministers in the world, regulator of the affairs of the sultanate and the caliphate, spreader of justice and progress, glory of the faith and the state and of the kingdom and the nation, servant of the greatest sultans, Turanshah–May God make the shadow of his compassion eternal and cause the glory of his concern to endure over all his territory!–has endowed this section with the remainder of the thirty parts to the Old Mosque of the city of Shiraz–May God protect it from troubles!–as an eternal legal endowment. It is not to be sold, disposed of or hired out. It shall be placed in the Qur'an repository located therein. It shall be read in the mosque and shall not be removed except when necessary. God gives fulsome reward, and with Him is the best refuge. Whoever disobeys the order has defied God and the Prophet! Dated Muharram the Inviolable 777 (June 1375). May God forgive and bless the one who has ordered this, the reader, the scribe and whomsoever says 'Amen'.

وقف المولى الصاحب قران الأعظم فخر اعاظمُ الوزراء في العالم ناظم امور السلطنة والخلافة باسط العدل والراقة جلال الدين والدولة والملك والملة مطاع اكابر السلاطين تورانشاه خلد الله ظلال عاطفته وابّد جلال عنايته على كافة بريّته هذا الجزء مع الاجزاء الباقية الثلثين على الجامع العتيق بمدينة شيراز حماها الله عن الاعواز وقفاً شرعياً مخلّدًا لا يُباع ولا يورث ولا يُؤجر وشرط ان يكون في بيت المصاحف الواقع هناك ويتلى منه في المسجد ولا يُخرج الا لضرورة دعت اليه ولله يعطى جزيل الثواب وعنده حسن المآب فمَن خالف الامر فقد عصى الله ورسوله وذلك في محرّم الحرام حجة سبع وسبعين وسبعمائة اللّهم اغفر وارحم لآمره ولقارئه ولكاتبه ولِمَن قال آمين

Cat. 36, folio 1a

...beauty of the great...qiblah of lords, the holy warrior and pride...the king, the regal, of Cairo the Protected...*qā'im maqām* (acting governor?). Let its place be in the Mawlakhanah Mosque, located...

. . . جمال الكبراء . . . قبلة ارباب المجاهد المفاخر . . . الملك السلطان بمصر المحروسة قايم مقام وجعل مقره في مسجد مولى خانه الكاين . . .

Cat. 36, folios 163a and 291a (other versions *passim*)

The Noble Abode, Yusuf Efendi Mir al-Liwa', (endowed it) in Cairo. Its place is in the Mawlakhanah.

وقف المقر الكريم يوسف افندي مير اللواء بمصر مقرّه مولى خانه

Cat. 41, folio 374b

The servant needful of God's mercy, who seeks His forgiveness and renounces his sins, Muhammad ibn... ibn Ibrahim ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Maydumi, wrote

كتب هذا المصحف الكريم وضبّطه العبد الفقير الى رحمة ربه المستغفر الى الله والتائب اليه من ذنبه محمد بن . . . ابراهيم

this Noble Volume and vocalized it–May God...and may God forgive whomsoever reads it, and may He have mercy upon him and upon his parents! The copying of it was completed in the last ten days of Sha'ban the Noble in the year 729 (June 1329).

بن عبد الرحيم المَيْدُومِى جعل الله . . . وغفر الله ولمن قرأ فيه وترحّم عليه وعلى والديه وانتهت كتابته في العشر الاخير من شهر شعبان المكرّم سنة تسع وعشرين وسبعمائة

Cat.43, folio 296b

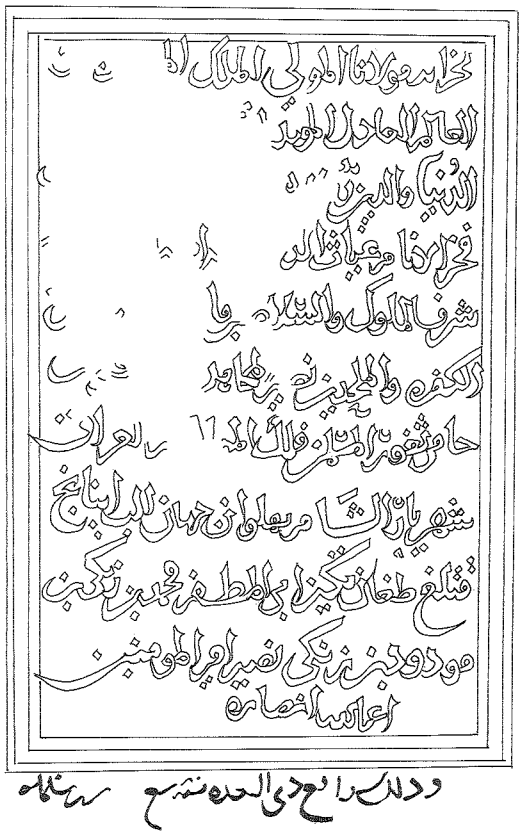
The writing of this Noble Volume was completed in the month of Ramadan, on a Friday, in the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus the Protected, by the hand of the servant needful of the Mercy of God the Munificent, Yahya ibn 'Umar ibn 'Ali al-Khabushani al-Khurasani –May God forgive...

وافق الفراغ من تحرير هذا الختمة الشريفة فى شهر رمضان يوم الجمعة فى الجامع الاموىّ بدمشق المحروسة على يد العبد الفقير الى الله الغنى يحيى بن عمر بن على الخَبُوشانى الخُراسانى غفر الله . . .

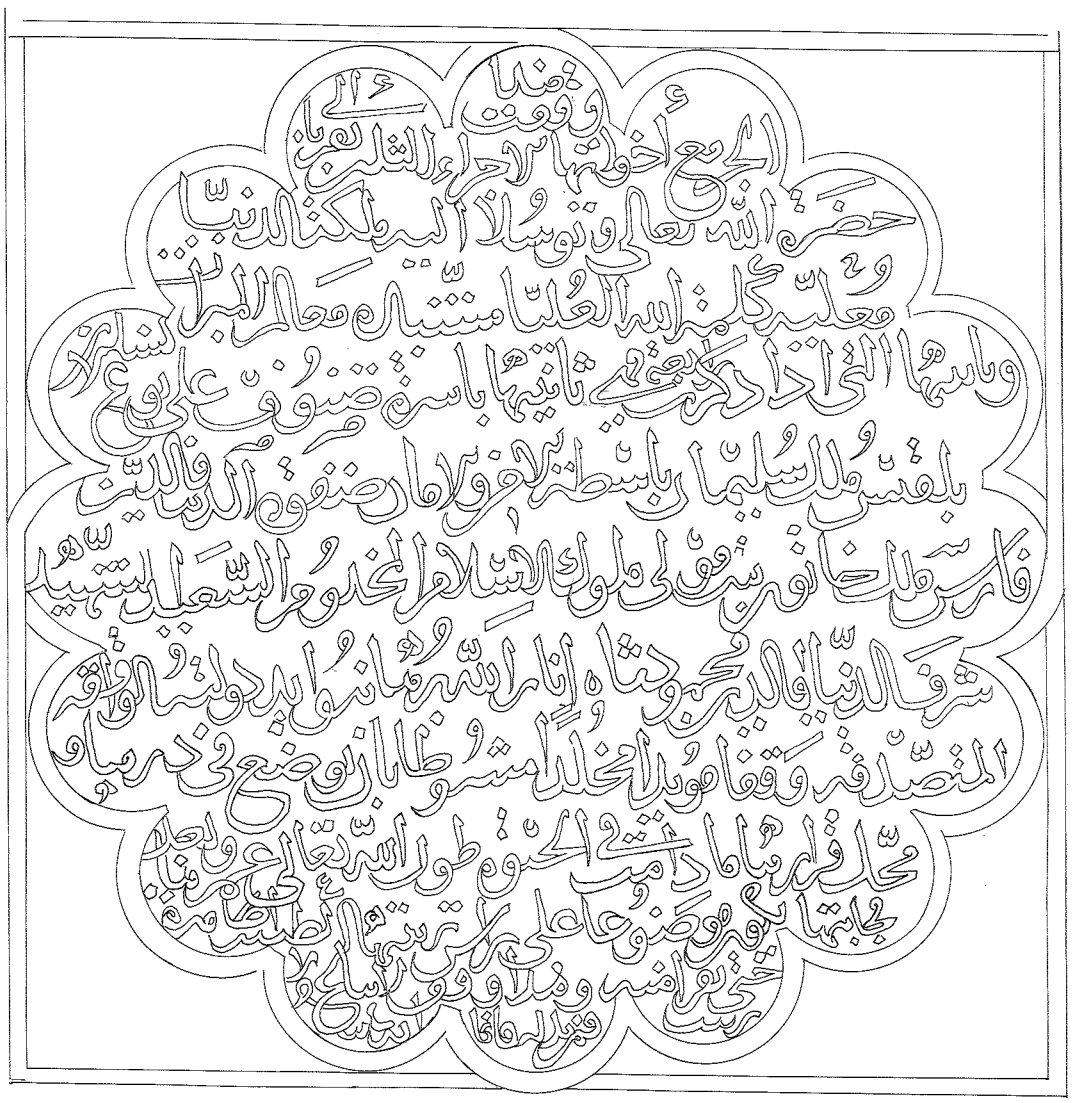
Cat.47, folio 444b

Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-'Ajami al-Mudhahhib wrote it and illuminated it in Ramadan 784 (November 1382).

كتبه وذهّبه احمد بن علي العجمي المذهّب في رمضان سنة اربعة وثمانين وسبعمائة



Cat. 7, folio 1a
Commissioning notice in the name of Qutb al-Din Muhammad, ruler of Sinjar



Cat. 29, folio 2a
Endowment notice in the name of Fars Malik Khatun

Cat. 25, folio 360a
Colophon in the name of 'Abdallah al-Sayrafi

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